

# HISTORICAL DICTIONARY OF

FARID MIRBAGHERI

#### HISTORICAL DICTIONARIES OF EUROPE

#### Jon Woronoff, Series Editor

- 1. Portugal, by Douglas L. Wheeler. 1993. Out of print. See no. 40.
- 2. Turkey, by Metin Heper. 1994. Out of print. See no. 38.
- 3. *Poland*, by George Sanford and Adriana Gozdecka-Sanford. 1994. *Out of print. See no. 41.*
- Germany, by Wayne C. Thompson, Susan L. Thompson, and Juliet S. Thompson. 1994.
- 5. Greece, by Thanos M. Veremis and Mark Dragoumis. 1995.
- 6. Cyprus, by Stavros Panteli. 1995. Out of print. See no. 69.
- 7. Sweden, by Irene Scobbie. 1995. Out of print. See no. 48.
- 8. Finland, by George Maude. 1995. Out of print. See no. 49.
- 9. Croatia, by Robert Stallaerts and Jeannine Laurens. 1995. Out of print. See no. 39.
- 10. Malta, by Warren G. Berg. 1995.
- 11. Spain, by Angel Smith. 1996. Out of print. See no. 65.
- 12. Albania, by Raymond Hutchings. 1996. Out of print. See no. 42.
- 13. *Slovenia*, by Leopoldina Plut-Pregelj and Carole Rogel. 1996. *Out* of print. See no. 56.
- 14. Luxembourg, by Harry C. Barteau. 1996.
- 15. Romania, by Kurt W. Treptow and Marcel Popa. 1996.
- 16. Bulgaria, by Raymond Detrez. 1997. Out of print. See no. 46.
- 17. United Kingdom: Volume 1, England and the United Kingdom; Volume 2, Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland, by Kenneth J. Panton and Keith A. Cowlard. 1997, 1998.
- 18. Hungary, by Steven Béla Várdy. 1997.
- 19. Latvia, by Andrejs Plakans. 1997.
- 20. Ireland, by Colin Thomas and Avril Thomas. 1997.
- 21. Lithuania, by Saulius Suziedelis. 1997.
- 22. *Macedonia*, by Valentina Georgieva and Sasha Konechni. 1998. *Out of print. See no.* 68.
- 23. The Czech State, by Jiri Hochman. 1998.
- 24. *Iceland*, by Guðmunder Hálfdanarson. 1997. *Out of print. See no.* 66.
- 25. Bosnia and Herzegovina, by Ante Cuvalo. 1997. Out of print. See no. 57.

- 26. Russia, by Boris Raymond and Paul Duffy. 1998.
- 27. Gypsies (Romanies), by Donald Kenrick. 1998. Out of print.
- 28. Belarus, by Jan Zaprudnik. 1998.
- 29. Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, by Zeljan Suster. 1999.
- 30. France, by Gino Raymond. 1998. Out of print. See no. 64.
- Slovakia, by Stanislav J. Kirschbaum. 1998. Out of print. See no. 47.
- 32. Netherlands, by Arend H. Huussen Jr. 1998. Out of print. See no. 55.
- 33. Denmark, by Alastair H. Thomas and Stewart P. Oakley. 1998. Out of print. See no. 63.
- 34. *Modern Italy*, by Mark F. Gilbert and K. Robert Nilsson. 1998. *Out* of print. See no. 58.
- 35. Belgium, by Robert Stallaerts. 1999.
- 36. Austria, by Paula Sutter Fichtner. 1999. Out of print. See No. 70.
- 37. *Republic of Moldova*, by Andrei Brezianu. 2000. *Out of print. See no.* 52.
- 38. *Turkey, 2nd edition*, by Metin Heper. 2002. *Out of print. See no.* 67.
- 39. Republic of Croatia, 2nd edition, by Robert Stallaerts. 2003.
- 40. Portugal, 2nd edition, by Douglas L. Wheeler. 2002.
- 41. Poland, 2nd edition, by George Sanford. 2003.
- 42. Albania, New edition, by Robert Elsie. 2004.
- 43. Estonia, by Toivo Miljan. 2004.
- 44. Kosova, by Robert Elsie. 2004.
- 45. *Ukraine*, by Zenon E. Kohut, Bohdan Y. Nebesio, and Myroslav Yurkevich. 2005.
- 46. Bulgaria, 2nd edition, by Raymond Detrez. 2006.
- 47. Slovakia, 2nd edition, by Stanislav J. Kirschbaum. 2006.
- 48. Sweden, 2nd edition, by Irene Scobbie. 2006.
- 49. Finland, 2nd edition, by George Maude. 2007.
- 50. Georgia, by Alexander Mikaberidze. 2007.
- 51. Belgium, 2nd edition, by Robert Stallaerts. 2007.
- 52. Moldova, 2nd edition, by Andrei Brezianu and Vlad Spânu. 2007.
- 53. Switzerland, by Leo Schelbert. 2007.
- 54. *Contemporary Germany*, by Derek Lewis with Ulrike Zitzlsperger. 2007.

- 55. *Netherlands, 2nd edition*, by Joop W. Koopmans and Arend H. Huussen Jr. 2007.
- 56. *Slovenia, 2nd edition*, by Leopoldina Plut-Pregelj and Carole Rogel. 2007.
- 57. Bosnia and Herzegovina, 2nd edition, by Ante Čuvalo. 2007.
- 58. *Modern Italy, 2nd edition*, by Mark F. Gilbert and K. Robert Nilsson. 2007.
- 59. Belarus, 2nd edition, by Vitali Silitski and Jan Zaprudnik. 2007.
- 60. Latvia, 2nd edition, by Andrejs Plakans. 2008.
- 61. *Contemporary United Kingdom*, by Kenneth J. Panton and Keith A. Cowlard. 2008.
- 62. Norway, by Jan Sjåvik. 2008.
- 63. Denmark, 2nd edition, by Alastair H. Thomas. 2009.
- 64. France, 2nd edition, by Gino Raymond. 2008.
- 65. Spain, 2nd edition, by Angel Smith. 2008.
- 66. Iceland, 2nd edition, by Guðmunder Hálfdanarson. 2009.
- 67. Turkey, 3rd edition, by Metin Heper and Nur Bilge Criss. 2009.
- 68. Republic of Macedonia, by Dimitar Bechev. 2009.
- 69. Cyprus, by Farid Mirbagheri. 2010.
- 70. Austria, 2nd edition, by Paula Sutter Fichtner. 2009.
- 71. Modern Greece, by Dimitris Keridis. 2009.

# Historical Dictionary of Cyprus

Farid Mirbagheri

Historical Dictionaries of Europe, No. 69



The Scarecrow Press, Inc. Lanham, Maryland • Toronto • Plymouth, UK 2010

#### SCARECROW PRESS, INC.

Published in the United States of America by Scarecrow Press, Inc. A wholly owned subsidiary of The Rowman & Littlefield Publishing Group, Inc. 4501 Forbes Boulevard, Suite 200, Lanham, Maryland 20706 www.scarecrowpress.com

Estover Road Plymouth PL6 7PY United Kingdom

Copyright © 2010 by Farid Mirbagheri

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording, or otherwise, without the prior permission of the publisher.

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Information Available

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data Mirbagheri, Farid. Historical dictionary of Cyprus / Farid Mirbagheri. p. cm. — (Historical dictionaries of Europe) Includes bibliographical references. ISBN 978-0-8108-5526-7 (cloth : alk. paper) ISBN 978-0-8108-6298-2 (ebook) 1. Cyprus-Dictionaries. 2. Cyprus-History-Dictionaries. I. Title. DS54.A28M57 2010 956.93003-dc22 2008046646

 $\bigotimes^{\text{TM}}$  The paper used in this publication meets the minimum requirements of American National Standard for Information Sciences-Permanence of Paper for Printed Library Materials, ANSI/NISO Z39.48-1992. Manufactured in the United States of America.

# Contents

Editor's Fore	word Jon Woronoff	ix
Acknowledg	ments	xi
Preface		xiii
Acronyms an	d Abbreviations	XV
Maps		xix–xx
Chronology		xxi
Introduction		xxxix
The Dictiona	ry	1
Appendix A	Presidents of the Republic of Cyprus	177
Appendix B	Turkish Cypriot Leaders	179
Appendix C	Special Representatives of UN Secretary-General to Cyprus	181
Appendix D	UNFICYP Force Commanders	183
Appendix E	The Lusignan Rulers of Cyprus	185
Appendix F	British Personnel 1878–1960	187
Appendix G	Archbishops of the Cyprus Orthodox Church	189
Glossary		191
Bibliography		193
About the Author		231

## **Editor's Foreword**

Cyprus is known for several things, some good, others considerably less so. It is certainly strategically located, in the midst of the Mediterranean, which has had both positive and negative consequences. On the one hand, it encouraged trade and made it a precious bastion for certain alien powers, but this also created enmity with others, and it was repeatedly fought over until it finally became independent in 1960. In its latest metamorphosis, the island was shared by two rather different communities-the Greeks and the Turks-along with assorted minorities, but they lived together in close proximity if not necessarily harmony. However, after a coup d'etat and an invasion in 1974, the country was split in two, with what for all practical purposes are two different states (although only one is broadly recognized), and despite attempts at reconciliation and largely desultory negotiations, the Republic of Cyprus remains that way today. The fact that it became part of the European Union in 2004 has not changed things decisively, and any movement toward reunion is painfully slow. Nonetheless, the island has prospered economically due to trade, tourism, shipping, and other activities, and the Greek part at least boasts a rather lively democratic system. And all its inhabitants have become accustomed to this rather odd split personality, which no one really likes, but no one seems able to change.

This long and sometimes glorious history, as well as the rather complex situation at present, are just two of many important reasons to require a periodical updating of this historical dictionary. This time it was written by Farid Mirbagheri, who was born in Iran and studied in Great Britain before moving to Cyprus about a decade ago. Since then, he has been teaching at the University of Nicosia, where he holds the Dialogue Chair in Middle Eastern Studies at the Department of International Relations. He is also the Director of Research at the Centre for World Dialogue in Nicosia. His book, *International Peacemaking in Cyprus*, came out in 1998. In addition, he was the editor of *The Cyprus Review* from 1999 to 2006 and remains on its editorial board. This is an excellent position from which to survey the often confusing past and present of Cyprus, and his focus on dialogue certainly gives him exceptional insight into the unusually complicated situation of this rather special country. The results of his study and contacts can be amply seen in this completely new edition of the *Historical Dictionary of Cyprus*.

Like all other historical dictionaries, this one consists largely of a dictionary section, which includes hundreds of entries on the history, politics, economy, and culture of the country. Many of these deal with particularly prominent persons and political parties, while others cover significant events and major locations. They are amply cross-referenced, so readers can focus on specific aspects but also piece together the overall picture. This task is facilitated by an introduction, which spans the whole period and looks more closely at the major events and turning points. A long and complicated history can be grasped more readily through the chronology, tracing the many important steps from the earliest days to the present. The list of acronyms is a handy tool for reading not only this book but other works on Cyprus. And, since readers may very well want to learn more than can be provided in just one book, the bibliography points them in the right direction.

Jon Woronoff Series Editor

#### Acknowledgments

It is difficult, if not impossible, to list the names of all those who have directly or indirectly assisted me in compiling this work. Therefore, I would like to express my appreciation to all of them and apologize if their names are not mentioned here.

First and foremost, I would like to thank the A.G. Leventis Foundation, whose generous and unremitting support of the Dialogue Chair in Middle Eastern Studies afforded me the time and the space required to complete this work. My dedicated group of researchers, Maria Kouppi, Arzu Izveren, and Alexia Sakodaki, deserve to be noted and thanked for their efforts. Arzu Izveren was very helpful with regard to information on Turkish Cypriots. Maria Kouppi, in particular, devoted much time and energy and assisted me tirelessly in visiting different places to collect information. I owe them my gratitude.

The Press and Information Office of the Republic of Cyprus also spared no effort in providing me with the required information; nor did the relevant authorities of the Turkish Cypriot community. I am grateful for their cooperation.

My learned colleague Naya Roussou and the Mediterranean Institute of Gender Studies, University of Nicosia, as well as the United Nations Mission in Cyprus, should also be thanked for their help.

I am indebted to my erudite colleague and historian, Emilios Solomou at the University of Nicosia, who provided invaluable comments on this edition. His suggestions on the various aspects of this work were most useful. This volume has undoubtedly benefited from them.

Louise Carroll has been an indispensable part of this project, without whom its completion would have been a near-impossible task. Her precise and unfailing organization of data was pivotal to this book. She consistently labored through chunks of material and endured my editorial comments and squabbles, patiently reproducing draft after draft. I am deeply appreciative for her persistent organization and very insightful comments, especially when family matters demanded her attention. Anna Zobnina offered her time and skills lavishly toward the end of this work, for which I thank her. This work has also benefited greatly from the meticulous and systematic approach of my assistant, Sladjana Simic, at a time when it was very much needed. Her incisive comments have been most helpful. I owe her special thanks for those and for her generosity of character.

I should also thank Jon Woronoff, the series editor, who put up with my delays in producing this work. His comments were sharp and to the point and saved me much time and effort.

Scarecrow Press should most definitely be thanked for having provided me with the opportunity to prepare and complete this project. Their approach all along was nothing less than professional.

Last but not least, I would like to thank my wife, Maria, and our children, Danial David and Ariana Michelle. Their support, encouragement, and understanding enthused me throughout. The work on this project was made possible because they allowed family time and space to be used elsewhere. I am forever grateful to them.

Any mistakes, factual or otherwise, however, are mine and mine alone.

## Preface

Cyprus is the third largest Mediterranean island, the most eastern frontier of the European Union, and placed at the intersection of three continents. Situated north of Egypt, south of Turkey, west of Lebanon, and east of Greece, this island boasts a mixture of the East and the West. The strategic position of the island has since ancient times been the cause of many of its troubles. Cyprus has attracted the attention of whichever power was at any time dominant in the Eastern Mediterranean. The demography of the island reflects to a good degree its internal discord. Comprised mainly of Greek Cypriots (around 80%) and Turkish Cypriots (around 18%), with the remaining 2 percent made up of Armenians, Maronites, and others, this small island of about 10,000 square kilometers hosts a culture that mirrors an Eastern heart but reflects Western rationality. The legacies of past conquests and defeats by the ruling powers of the globe have left their mark on Cyprus. The current political stalemate that Cypriots of different ethnicities find themselves in relates very much to the troubled history of the island.

Now safely anchored in the European Union, Cyprus and the Cyprus problem appear to play an important part in the progress of Turkey's European ambitions. The much-publicized Annan Plan of 2004, which aimed to deliver a long-awaited solution to the Cyprus problem, received a resounding vote of no confidence from the majority Greek Cypriots. Ever since, the sympathy of the international community, hitherto enjoyed by Greek Cypriots, seems to have slowly shifted in favor of Turkish Cypriots. The realities on the ground, however, namely the presence of more than 30,000 Turkish troops in the northern occupied section of the island and the relative degree of security the EU has afforded Greek Cypriots, appear to pull in different directions as regards both the essence and the content of a solution.

xiv • PREFACE

The history of the Cyprus problem clearly indicates that violence cannot and will not resolve the problem. If anything, it was violence that caused the de facto division and the separation of the two communities in the first place. Vision and courage are required to bring about the reunification of the country.

Economically, however, Cyprus has experienced an impressive degree of prosperity. Millions of tourists flock to its shores every year in search of sun, sea, and sand, all in abundance on the island. It has also become a favorite destination for many from the Middle East as a second place of residence. Political stability, together with promising economic prospects boosted by EU membership, adds to the attraction of the island.

In a world where divisions are increasingly marked along identity lines, Cyprus can offer a chance to bridge differences and celebrate variety in the human community rather than engage in violence in pursuit of political goals. This last aspect renders Cyprus and its heritage a place of hope in the face of adversity and conflict that have engulfed our world.

# Acronyms and Abbreviations

ABC	American British Canadian
ADIK	Fighting Democratic Movement
ADISOK	Democratic Socialist Renewal Movement (Greek
	Cypriot)/Anorthotiko Dimokratiko Sosialistiko Kin-
	ima/ $A$ νορθωτικό $\Delta$ ημοκρατικό $K$ ίνημα( $A\Delta H\Sigma OK$ )
AGBU	Armenian General Benevolent Union (US-based)
AKEL	Progressive Party of the Working People (Greek Cypriot)/
	Anorthotiko Komma Ergazomenou Laou/Ανορθωτικό
	Κομμα Εργαζόμενομ Λαού (ΑΚΕΛ)
ATC	Air Traffic Control
BOT	Build Operate Transfer
CAP	Common Agricultural Policy
CBM	confidence-building measures
CJP	Cyprus Justice Party (Turkish Cypriot)/Kıbrıs Adalet
	Partisi (KAP)
CLP	Communal Liberation Party (Turkish Cypriot)/
	Toplumcu Kurtuluş Partisi (TKP)
CMP	Committee on Missing Persons
COST	Cooperation in Research and Technology
CPC	Communist Party of Cyprus (Greek Cypriot)/Kommou-
	nistiko Komma tis Kiprou/Κομμουνιστικό Κομμα της
	Κύπρου (ΚΚΚ)
CR	Cyprus Regiment
CVF	Cyprus Volunteer Force
DIKO	Democratic Party (Greek Cypriot)/Dimokratiko Komma/
	Δηοκρατικό Κομμα (ΔΗΚΟ)
DISY	Democratic Rally (Greek Cypriot)/Dimokratikos
	Synagermos/Δημοκρατικός Συναγερμός (ΔΗΣΥ)

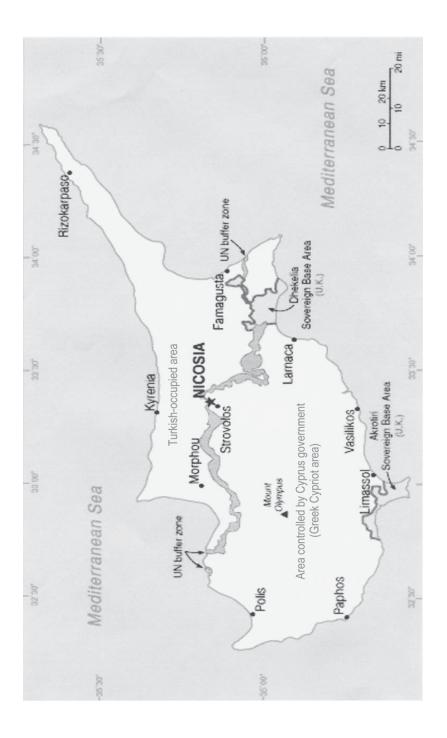
#### xvi • ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

DP	Democratic Party (Turkish Cypriot)/Demokrat Partisi (DP)
EC	European Community
ECHR	European Court of Human Rights
ECJ	European Court of Justice
EDEK	Movement of Social Democrats EDEK (Greek Cypriot)/
	Kinima Socialdimokraton Eniea Dimokratiki Enosi
	Kentrou/Κι'νημα Σοσιαλδημοκρατών Ενιαια
	Δημοκρατική Ένωση Κέντρου (ΕΔΕΚ).
EDEN	EDEK's Youth Organization
EDI	United Democrats (Greek Cypriot)/Enomenoi
	Dimokrates/Ενωμένοι Δημοκράτες (ΕΔΗ)
EDON	AKEL's United Democratic Youth Organization
EDP	European Democratic Party (Brussels)
EEC	European Economic Community
EEST	Eastern European Summer Time
EFEKA	National Union of Cypriot Students in England
EMU	Economic and Monetary Union
EOKA	National Organization of Cypriot Fighters (Greek
	Cypriot)/Ethniki Organosis Kyprion Agoniston/Εθνική
	Οργανώσις Κνπριών Αγωνιστών (ΕΟΚΑ)
EOKA B	National Organization of Cypriot Fighters B (Greek
	Cypriot)/Ethniki Organosis Kyprion Agoniston/ Εθνική
	Οργανώσις Κνπριών Αγωνιστών (ΕΟΚΑ Β)
ERM	European Exchange Rate Mechanism
ESBA	Eastern Sovereign Base Area
EU	European Union
EURO.DE	European Democracy Party (Greek Cypriot)/
	Evropaiki Dimokratial Ενρωπαϊκή Δημοκρατία
	$(EYPO. \Delta H)$
EVRO.KO	European Party (Greek Cypriot)/Evropaiko Komma/
EID	Ενρωπαϊκό Κόμμα (ΕΥΡΟ.ΚΟ)
FIR	Flight Information Region
GC GDP	Greek Cypriot
	Gross Domestic Product
GODISY HAF	DISY's Women's Organization Hellenic Armed Forces
ПАГ	neneme Armeu Forces

International Committee of the Red Cross
Instrument for Pre-Accession Assistance
International Union for the Conservation of Nature
Movement of Free Citizens
Financial Instrument for the Environment
Measures to accompany the economic and social re-
forms in the Mediterranean non-member countries of the
European Union
Melkonian Educational Institute
Member of the European Parliament
Member of Parliament
Non-Aligned Movement
North Atlantic Treaty Organization
New Cyprus Party (Turkish Cypriot)/Yeni Kıbrıs Partisi
(YKP)
New Horizons Party (Greek Cypriot)/Neoi Orizontes/
Νέοι Οριζοντες
DISY's Youth Organization (Greek Cypriot)
National Justice Party (Turkish Cypriot)/Milliyetçi Ada-
let Partisi (MAP)
New Party (Turkish Cypriot)/Yeni Parti (YP)
National Unity Party (Turkish Cypriot)/Ulusal Birlik
Partisi (UBP)
Our Party (Turkish Cypriot)/Bizim Parti (BP)
Peace and Democracy Movement (Turkish Cypriot)/
Barış ve Demokrasi Hareketi (BDH)
The Political Committee of the Cypriot Struggle (The
political wing of EOKA)
Pancyprian Federation of Labor
Pancyprian National Organization of Pupils (Greek
Cypriot)
Prisoner of War
Republican People's Party (Turkish Cypriot)/Cumhuriye
Halk Partisi (CHP)
Republican Turkish Party (Turkish Cypriot)/Cumhuri-
yetçi Türk Partisi (CTP)
Sovereign Base Area

#### xviii • ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

SCP	Socialist Cyprus Party (Turkish Cypriot)/Kıbrıs Sosyal-
	ist Partisi (KSP)
TA	Territorial Army (British)
TC	Turkish Cypriot
"TFSC"	"Turkish Federated State of Cyprus"
TMT	Turkish Resistance Organization
"TRNC"	"Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus"
UCP	United Cyprus Party (Turkish Cypriot)/Birleşik Kıbrıs
	Partisi (BKP)
UDI	Unilateral Declaration of Independence
UK	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNEF	United Nations Emergency Force
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Or-
	ganization
UNFICYP	United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
WSBA	Western Sovereign Base Area





# Chronology

#### The Ancient World

#### Neolithic Period I (8th millennium-4500 AB)

**8000** The oldest testimony of human life, vestiges of the early communities, will be found all over the island (Choirokitia, Kalavasos-Tenta, Apostolos Andreas-Kastros, Phrenaros, Petratou Limniti, etc).

**6000** The Aceramic civilization of Cyprus comes to an end. It was probably followed by a vacuum of almost 1,500 years.

#### Neolithic Period II (4500–3500 AB)

Newcomers arrive in Cyprus. The main settlement that embodies most of the characteristics of the period is Sotira, near the south coast of Cyprus.

**3800** Neolithic II culture is destroyed by an earthquake.

#### Chalcolithic Period (3500–2500/2300 AB)

Copper and stone period. Metalwork appears for the first time.

#### Early Bronze Age (2500/2300-1900 AB)

**2300** First vivid vestiges of newcomers from Anatolia, who came to Cyprus due to disturbances in Asia Minor, can be found in the northern part of the island.

#### Middle Bronze Age (1900–1600 AB)

The earlier part of this period is marked by peaceful development in contrast to its final years, which are marked by war.

#### Late Bronze Age (1600–1100 AB)

Unrest, tension, and anxiety mark the beginning of this period, probably because of engagement with the Hyksos, who ruled Egypt at this time but were expelled from there in the mid-16th century. Soon afterward peaceful conditions prevail in the Eastern Mediterranean and a flowering of trade relations and growth of urban centers begins. Chief among them is Enkomi, the earliest predecessor of modern Famagusta.

In the second half of the 13th century, Cyprus suffers due to raids, which intensify and turn into devastating invasions in the last quarter of the century.

1200 Influx of Mycenaean Greeks as permanent settlers to Cyprus.

#### Early Iron Age (1100–750 AB)

Cyprus becomes predominantly Greek, but Phoenicians also settle on the island. The alphabetic writing that was adopted from the Phoenicians is introduced to Cyprus as late as the early 4th century BC.

#### Archaic Period (750-475 AB)

Kingship is preserved even under foreign occupation, and the cities of Cyprus remain independent even after their submission to the Assyrians in 709, the Egyptians in 569, and the Persians in 545 BC.

669 The Assyrian domination of Cyprus comes to an end.

560 Amasis, the pharaoh of Egypt, conquers Cyprus.

#### Classical Period (475–325 AB)

**546** Cyrus the Great conquers Sardes. Sometime after this date (exact date unknown), Cyprus comes under Persian rule. Cypriots, in agree-

ment with the Persian Empire, continue to mint coins that bear no Persian emblem.

**448** Peace of Callias is concluded in Susa between Greece and Persia by virtue of which Cyprus remains within the Persian Empire.

**411** Evagoras, an admirer of Hellenism, takes the throne of Salamis from the Phoenician, Abdemon.

**374** King Evagoras and one of his sons are assassinated. Another son of Evagoras, Nicocles, succeeds him.

**333** Alexander the Great conquers Cyprus.

#### Hellenistic Period (325–30 AB)

**294** Cyprus is won over by Ptolemy, ruler of Egypt.

#### Roman Era (30 AB-@C 330)

**58** The tribune Clodius Pulcher adopts a law implemented by Cato, which turns Cyprus into a Roman province attached to that of Cilicia.

**47** Having made Cleopatra and her brother the queen and king of Egypt, the Roman emperor Julius Caesar gives Cyprus to their younger siblings.

**31** Cyprus is returned to the Roman Empire.

**15** Paphos is destroyed by an earthquake.

**45** Cyprus is visited by the apostles, Paul and Barnabas, accompanied by St. Mark. The Roman governor Sergius Paulus is converted to Christianity. Cyprus becomes the first country in the world to be governed by a Christian ruler.

**57** St. Barnabas is arrested and stoned to death in Cyprus. He is buried near Salamis.

77 Three cities in Cyprus are destroyed by earthquakes.

#### Byzantine Era (@c 330–1191)

**332 and 342** Earthquakes destroy cities in Cyprus.

**370** Paphos is destroyed by another earthquake. This time the degree of devastation is such that the city is abandoned by its inhabitants for some time.

**395** Upon the death of Theodosius the Great, the Byzantine period begins. The Roman Empire is divided in two. Cyprus becomes part of Byzantium, the eastern part. This period is marked by the spread of the Christian faith.

**476** The western part of the Roman Empire comes to an end, succumbing to German tribes. The eastern part, Byzantium, however, survives well into the second millennium.

**649** Arabs attack Cyprus with a large armada under the leadership of Mua'wiya.

653 A second Arab invasion devastates the island once more.

743 The Muslim caliph, Walid II, launches another attack on Cyprus.

**770** The Roman governor of Asia Minor issues an ultimatum to monks and nuns, whereby refusal to marry and to put on white clothes would be punishable by being blinded and being exiled to Cyprus.

787 Icon worship is reinstated in Cyprus by Cypriot bishops.

**790** Harun-al-Rashid, the Abbasid caliph, launches an attack on Cyprus.

**806** The second attack by Harun-al-Rashid against Cyprus takes place and inflicts far greater devastation. The attack is reported by some to have taken place in response to a breach of treaty by either the Romans or the Cypriots themselves.

**965** Cyprus is taken over by the Byzantine emperor Nicephorus Phokas, and Cyprus becomes part of the Greek state, Byzantium.

**1155** Renaud de Chatillon launches a horrific attack on Cyprus. One of the cruelest rulers of his time, he is eventually killed by King Saladin.

1158 Egypt launches raids against Cyprus.

**1185** Isaacius Angelus, described as "the most evil of all evil men," conquers Cyprus.

**1191** King Richard the Lionheart conquers the island.

#### Frankish Era (@c 1191–1571)

**1191** King Richard the Lionheart sells the island to the Knights Templar for 100,000 gold dinars.

**1192** May: The Knights Templar sell Cyprus to a Frank, Guy de Lusignan. The introduction of Catholicism exacerbates the hostility between the French nobles and the Greeks.

**1194** Aimery, the brother of Guy, is recognized as the king upon the death of his brother.

**1220** At a Catholic conference in Limassol, the Latin clerical hierarchy unsuccessfully demands the allegiance of their Orthodox counterparts.

**1228** The German emperor, Frederick II arrives in Limassol in an attempt to bring Cyprus under his control.

**1260** Pope Alexander issues *Bulla Cypria*, limiting the autocephalous status of the Cyprus Church.

**1267** King Hugh's death marks the end of the first dynasty of Frankish rule over Cyprus.

**1324–1359** Hugh IV rules as the King of Cyprus in Nicosia and the King of Jerusalem in Famagusta. He promotes peace and avoids war.

**1369 17 January:** King Peter I, the son of Hugh IV, is stabbed repeatedly in his bed by nobles. His reign marks the apex of Frankish power and glory in Cyprus.

**1373–1374** The war between Genoa and Cyprus, started by the former, takes place. It weakens Frankish power in Cyprus.

xxvi • CHRONOLOGY

**1398–1410** Another round of armed hostilities between Cyprus and Genoa begins, this time initiated by Cyprus. However, the latter fail in their goal of recovering Famagusta from the former.

**1469** Cyprus is struck by famine and locusts, followed by a plague in 1470.

**1489** Queen Caterina officially transfers the Kingdom of Cyprus to the Venetians. The Frankish era in Cyprus comes to an end.

**1539** The Turks attack Limassol, resulting in a favorable treaty for them with the Venetians the following year.

**1570 25 July:** The Turks, under the command of Lala Mustafa, who was under orders from the Ottoman sultan, Selim II, arrive in Nicosia and launch a successful bid to occupy the island.

#### Turkish Era (@c 1571-1878)

The Greek Cypriot peasants are no longer serfs of the land they cultivate; they can now become landowners. At the same time, the Orthodox Church is liberated because the Turks are afraid of the presence of the Catholic Church. The Archbishop of Cyprus becomes not only the religious but the ethnic leader as well. Following the Turkish conquest, many Greek Cypriots and Latins convert to Islam to escape heavy taxation and compulsory recruiting of their children for the army. The people of Cyprus turn to Europe in search of help for liberating the island. Very characteristic is the appeal by Archbishop of Cyprus Timotheos to King Philip II of Spain.

**1571** The Ottoman Empire conquers Cyprus. The Ottomans organize the migration of 20,000 Muslim Turks from Anatolia to the island, which was inhabited by Greeks.

**1572–1668** Approximately 28 bloody uprisings take place.

**1660** The Ottomans recognize the archbishop and the bishops as the protectors of people and as the population's representatives to the sultan.

Cyprus comes under the jurisdiction of the admiral of the Ottoman fleet.

Cyprus is declared a principality by the Ottoman sultan and comes under the jurisdiction of the grand vezir, who sends a governor to the island.

The situation in Cyprus is intolerable. A terrible epidemic of plague, poor crops, and earthquakes cause many Cypriots to emigrate.

The Treaty of Kuchuk Kainardji is concluded between the Russian and Ottoman Empire. By virtue of this treaty, Russia becomes the protector of the Orthodox Christians within the Ottoman Empire.

The Turkish administration on the island, led by Governor Kuchuk Mehmed, executes 486 Cypriots, accusing them of conspiracy with the rebellious Greeks in connection with the Greek War of Independence of 1821. Among the victims are four bishops and many other clergymen and prominent citizens including Archbishop Kyprianos, who is hanged. An estimate of the French Consulate puts the population of Cyprus at around 90,000.

Another estimate, this time by the Ottoman authorities, puts the population of the island at around 106,000.

The first girls' school is established in Nicosia.

An estimate by the Greek ambassador puts the population at around 165,000.

The first bank on the island, the Imperial Ottoman Bank, is established.

The Turks are defeated by the Russians, resulting in the Treaty of San Stefano.

**4 June:** Great Britain and Sultan Abdul Hamid secretly sign the Anglo-Turkish Convention, whereby the administration of Cyprus is transferred to Great Britain. This is done in exchange for British support for the Ottomans in their disputes with the Russians. Although this is only a transfer of administration and not of possession, effectively after over three centuries, Ottoman rule in Cyprus comes to an end.

#### British Era (@C 1878–1959)

**22** July: The first British high commissioner, Sir Garnett Wolseley, arrives in Cyprus. **14 September:** A Legislative Council and an Executive Council are established. Despite Cypriot participation in these forums, the final word rests with the British authorities.

**1878–1914** Great Britain assumes possession and administration of Cyprus, but the sultan retains de jure jurisdiction over the island.

**December:** The British high commissioner is no longer responsible to the Foreign Office; Cyprus affairs are transferred to the jurisdiction of the Colonial Office in London.

A census carried out by the new British rulers puts the population figure at 185,630.

Britain grants a constitution to the people of Cyprus.

July: The Greek members of the Legislative Council vote for *enosis* (unification with Greece) by majority, and the Turkish members abstain.

**9 October:** Winston Churchill, as deputy minister for the colonies, visits Cyprus.

The first cooperative credit society is established to deal with the problem of farmers' debts.

The population reaches 274,108. There is a continual reduction in the number of Turkish Cypriots due to small-scale emigration to Turkey following the British occupation.

May: Limassol is the scene of demonstrations. There are clashes between Greek and Turkish Cypriots, resulting in five fatalities and many more wounded.

**5 November:** Due to the alliance of the Turks with the Germans in World War I, previous agreements with the Ottoman Empire are assumed null and void. The island is annexed by the British Empire.

**16 October:** British Foreign Minister Sir Edward Grey sends a telegram to inform the prime minister of Greece, Alexandros Zaimis, and

the high commissioner of Cyprus, Sir John Clawson, that Great Britain would be prepared to transfer Cyprus to Greece on the proviso that Greece ceased to be neutral and immediately proclaimed war against the enemies of the Triple Entente. The Greek government rejects the offer.

**1918 5 December:** A Greek Cypriot delegation comprising the archbishop and the nine Greek Cypriot deputies leaves for London in order to ask of the British government the realization of *enosis* (unification with Greece). **23 December:** The Turkish Cypriots send a memorandum to the minister for the colonies requesting the continuation of British administration.

**1921–1946** Following the annexation of Cyprus by Great Britain, a reduction in the number of Turkish Cypriots on the island occurs due to emigration to Turkey.

**1923** July: The Treaty of Lausanne settles the international status of Cyprus. By virtue of the treaty, Turkey recognizes the annexation of Cyprus by Britain.

**1925** Cyprus is proclaimed a Crown Colony.

**1927** Income per capita in Cyprus is calculated to be 11 pounds.

**1928** The Ottoman Penal Code is replaced.

**1931** April: The government of Sir Ronald Storrs, in an attempt to balance the budget, decides to impose a law for increments in customs duties. This law does not pass because the Turkish Cypriot deputy, Misrlizad Netzati Bey, and the Greek Cypriots, vote against it. However, the governor enacts this law in September 1931 by an executive order. **October:** Demonstrations and acts of civil disobedience on the part of Greek Cypriots take place; clashes with the British Administration lead to bloodshed. The first Greek Cypriot riot against the British takes place on 21 October and the uprisings become known as *Oktovriana*. The uprising is suppressed by the imposition of severe measures and restrictions for all Cypriots.

**1935** The principles of British Common Law are enacted.

**1938–1948** Large strikes by Greeks and Turks together take place in an attempt to gain an eight-hour working day, cost-of-living benefits,

improved working conditions, labor legislation, social insurance, improvement of wages, etc.

**1941** AKEL (the Progressive Party of the Working People), left wing by its constitution, is established on the island.

**1946** An important law on immovable property is introduced. The law replaces the Ottoman Land Law, which had prevailed until that time. The new law deals with all matters concerning tenure, registration, disposition, and valuation of immovable property.

**1947 1 November:** Governor Lord Winster calls a meeting for constitutional changes, known as *Diaskeptiki*—but it has no success.

**1950 15 January:** The plebiscite for *enosis* or union with Greece takes place in Cyprus; the majority of Greek Cypriots vote in favor of the union. The event negatively influences labor and political relations between Greeks and Turks in the following years.

**1951** Cyprus is raised as a problem in the sixth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

**1954** Henry Hopkinson, then British undersecretary for colonial affairs, states in the House of Commons that certain territories (meaning Cyprus) could never expect to be fully independent. **July:** The British draft a new constitution, which Turkish Cypriots accept but Greek Cypriots reject.

**1955 1 April:** The armed struggle of EOKA for *enosis* begins. **29 August:** A tripartite conference among Greece, Turkey, and Great Britain to discuss the Cyprus problem takes place at Lancaster House in London. **6–7 September:** Conference with Great Britain, Greece, and Turkey on Cyprus takes place; anti-Greek riots in Istanbul.

**1956** After the nationalization of the Suez Canal and the Anglo-French expedition against Egypt, Cyprus becomes the largest British military base in the Eastern Mediterranean. **May:** Clashes between Greeks and Turks in Cyprus.

**1957 15 November:** The Turkish community creates the Turkish Resistance Organization (TMT).

**1958** The MacMillan plan calls for a co-dominion of Britain, Greece, and Turkey to rule Cyprus. The number of Greek-Turkish altercations

rises, first in Nicosia and then spreading across the whole island. **28 December:** Greece, Turkey, and Britain discuss the Cyprus question at the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) meeting.

**1959 19 February:** Britain, Greece, Turkey and representatives from the Greek and Turkish communities of Cyprus meet in London and sign the complex agreements that create the Independent State of Cyprus. **4 December:** The state of emergency in Cyprus is declared over. **13 December:** Archbishop Makarios is elected president, despite opposition from right-wing elements, who claim that he had betrayed *enosis*, and from AKEL members, who object to the British bases and the stationing of Greek and Turkish troops on the island. **13 December:** Fazil Kuchuk, leader of the Turkish Cypriot community, is elected vice president without opposition.

**1960 31 July:** The first general election for the House of Representatives takes place. **16 August:** Declaration of Independence of the Republic of Cyprus, led by a Greek Cypriot president, Archbishop Makarios, and by a Turkish Cypriot vice president, Fazil Kuchuk. Great Britain, Greece, and Turkey become guarantors of the sovereignty and integrity of the new state.

#### Independent Cyprus (@c 1960-)

**1960** September: Cyprus becomes a member of the United Nations (UN).

**1961** Cyprus, in line with the views of President Makarios and in disagreement with those of Vice President Kuchuk, becomes a member of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM). **Spring:** Cyprus is admitted to membership in the Commonwealth. **20 October:** Kuchuk uses his constitutional veto right as vice president to halt the development of an integrated Cypriot army as intended by Makarios.

**1961–62** Underground organizations of both communities are revived. EOKA and TMT begin training again, smuggling weapons in from Greece and Turkey.

**1963 30 November:** President Makarios proposes 13 amendments to the Constitution. **16 December:** Both Turkey and Turkish Cypriots turn

xxxii • Chronology

down Makarios's proposals. **21 Decmber:** Beginning of intercommunal violence.

**1964 4 March:** UN Security Council adopts Resolution 186 authorizing the dispatch of a peacekeeping force and the appointment of a mediator. **27 March:** Beginning of United Nations Force in Cyprus (UN-FICYP) operation. **8–9 August:** Turkish fighter jets raid villages in the Tylliria region. However, a full Turkish military operation is halted by a strongly worded letter from US President Lyndon Johnson to Turkish leaders. **16 September:** The UN secretary-general assigns Galo Plaza, former president of Ecuador, as UN Mediator for Cyprus.

**1965 23 June:** Submission of the Plaza Report, endorsing the necessity of maintaining contact and arranging regular meetings between the communities in order to come to a peaceful settlement.

**1967 21 April:** Military regime seizes power in Greece. **15 November:** The crisis of November 1967 takes place in Cyprus. Intercommunal violence once more threatens a Greco–Turkish conflict. The United States dispatches Cyrus Vance to the region to prevent any escalation.

**1968 24 June–28 August:** First phase of the Intercommunal Talks takes place. **29 August:** Second phase of the Intercommunal Talks begins.

**1969 3 January:** Second phase of the Intercommunal Talks closes.

**1969–1970** Third phase of the Intercommunal Talks takes place.

**1970–1974** Fourth phase of the Intercommunal Talks takes place.

**1972 19 December:** Association Agreement between Cyprus and the European Economic Community is signed.

**1974 15** July: A Greek-staged coup in Cyprus takes place. President Makarios escapes and flees the island with help from Britain. **20** July: Turkish military land on the island (first phase) against the puppet regime of Nicos Sampson. However, as it later transpired, this military operation amounted to an invasion of the island. **22** July: Collapse of military government in Greece and of puppet regime in Cyprus. **25–30** July: First round of Geneva Talks among Greece, Turkey, and Great Britain takes place. **8–14 August:** Second round of Geneva Talks takes place.

**14 August:** Turkish invasion (second phase) takes place, in which the Turkish military advances farther south. **1 November:** UN General Assembly Resolution 3212 strengthens the UNFICYP to control the 180-kilometer Green Line that separates the island, including the capital, Nicosia. **7 December:** Makarios returns to the presidency until 1977.

**1975 13 February:** Unilateral declaration of "Turkish Federated State of Cyprus (TFSK)" by Turkish Cypriot leadership. **28 April–3 May:** First round of Vienna Talks for a negotiated settlement of the Cyprus problem (first series) takes place. **5–7 June:** Second round of Vienna Talks (first series) takes place. **31 July–2 August:** Third round of Vienna Talks (first series) takes place. **8–10 September:** Fourth round of Vienna Talks (first series) takes place.

**1976 17–21 February:** Fifth round of Vienna Talks (first series) takes place. **June:** Rauf Denktash is elected "president" of the "Turkish Federated State of Cyprus."

**1977 12 February:** High-Level Agreement between Makarios and Denktash is signed. **31 March–7 April:** Second series of Vienna Talks for a negotiated solution takes place. **3 August:** Death of Archbishop Makarios.

**1978** November: The American-British-Canadian Initiative is launched but fails to secure the agreement of all concerned.

**1979 19 May:** High-Level Agreement between Kyprianou and Denktash is signed.

**1980** Winter: UN Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim proposes "Interim Agreement Proposal."

**1981 22 October:** The UN "Gobbi Initiative" is launched.

**1983** August: UN Secretary-General Perez de Cuellar launches the "Initiative." **15 November:** Unilateral Declaration of Independence of "Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC)."

**1984–1987** In 1984 the UN secretary-general presents a draft peace agreement, which does not lead to any serious solution. Series of talks between Spyros Kyrianou and Rauf Denktash takes place under UN auspices. No real progress is made.

xxxiv • CHRONOLOGY

**7 August:** UN secretary-general's Vienna "Working Points" are proposed.

**10 September–20 January:** "Proximity Talks" between the two Cypriot community leaders take place.

**29 March:** UN secretary-general's "Draft Framework Agreement" is launched.

Second stage of Association Agreement between Cyprus and the European Community (EC) is signed and goes into effect the year after.

**30 January–2 February:** For the first time since 1978, Greek and Turkish government leaders meet in Davos, Switzerland.

**4 July:** Cyprus officially submits its application for full membership in the EC.

UN Secretary-General Boutros Ghali presents a new initiative for the solution of the Cyprus problem called The Set of Ideas. **10 April:** UN Security Council Resolution 750 blames the Turkish party for negligible progress in the negotiation process and requests a reduction of Turkish troops in Cyprus. **5 November:** UN Security Council Resolution 789 blames the Turkish party for the slow progress in the negotiation process and asks for a reduction of Turkish troops on Cyprus.

**1993 14 February:** President George Vassiliou loses narrowly to Clerides in run off presidential elections. Nineteen years before, Clerides had been the interim president following the 1974 coup. **30 June:** The European Commission agrees to the application for membership in the European Union (EU) and underlines the fact that this application was made in the name of the whole island. **November:** Substantive talks between Cyprus and the EU Commission begin and are successfully completed after two years. **November:** Cyprus and Greece sign a joint defense agreement.

6 March: EU agreement to open accession talks with Cyprus.

Series of incidents on the Green Line and in the Buffer Zone lead to the deaths of two Greek Cypriots. **15 August:** Rauf Denktash

and Tansu Ciller, Turkish foreign minister, ask for a resumption of the intercommunal negotiations.

**1997 4 January:** Clerides orders S300 Missiles from Russia. Turkey issues threats of military deployment and decides to negotiate with Belgium and The Netherlands to buy ground-to-air missiles. With the intervention of an American emissary, Clerides agrees to wait for 18 months before deploying the missiles. **11–15 August:** Clerides and Denktash meet for a UN-sponsored round of talks in New York. Further talks in Switzerland fail. **4–5 November:** Ankara organizes the biggest military maneuvers in northern Cyprus since 1974.

#### **European Union (EU) Accession**

**1998** Turkish Cypriot leader Rauf Denktash states that the "TRNC" would unite with Turkey if Cyprus joined the EU. A formalized association accord is signed between Turkey and northern Cyprus. **30 March:** Accession negotiations between Cyprus and the European Union begin and are completed in October 2002.

**1999** Earthquakes in Turkey and Greece lead to warming of relations between the two countries. **3 December:** UN-sponsored indirect talks in New York end without progress but continue. **5 February:** "TRNC" government refuses the deployment of an international force on the island, which had been requested by the Greek Cypriots. **December:** UN embarks on another effort known as Proximity Talks.

**2000** Negotiations continue without results.

2001 4 November: Turkish Prime Minister Bulent Ecevit mentions the possible annexation of the northern part of the island if the Greek part joins the EU. 24 November: Turkey declares that it rejects any solution that would reduce the Turkish Cypriots to a minority status, and that it is determined to protect their interests on the divided island.
4 December: First meeting between Clerides and Denktash since 1997 takes place. The summit is held in the Buffer Zone. They decide to start negotiations in January 2002 to end the division of the island.

**2002 16 January:** Direct talks between President Clerides and the Turkish Cypriot leader, Rauf Denktash, start. The direct UN-sponsored negotiations take place on a weekly basis. **30 June:** Negotiations end without agreement. **9 October:** The European Commission recommends that the European Council meeting in Copenhagen on 12–13 December accept Cyprus for EU accession by 1 May 2004. **11 November:** UN presents a detailed plan for the settlement of the Cyprus problem. **12–13 December:** Following the European Council of Copenhagen, the Republic of Cyprus is officially recognized as one of the 10 new states to join the EU in May 2004.

2003 14 January: A massive Turkish Cypriot demonstration takes place in Nicosia against Rauf Denktash, the Turkish Cypriot leader. 16 February: Tassos Papadopoulos, head of the centrist party DIKO, defeats Clerides in the presidential elections with 51.51 percent. 11 March: UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan organizes negotiations in The Hague between President Tassos Papadopoulos and Rauf Denktash. Kofi Annan proposes that a new peace plan be sent to a referendum on both parts of the island on 30 March 2003. Denktash refuses this solution, explaining that the peace plan is not acceptable to Turkish Cypriots. 16 April: The Republic of Cyprus officially signs the accession treaty to the EU in Athens. The northern part of Cyprus is not included. 24 April: The unrecognized border dividing Nicosia since 1974 is partially opened, allowing free crossing of Greek and Turkish Cypriots in their country for the first time in 29 years. Both the Greek and Turkish Cypriots are allowed unfettered access between north and south. Some two million crossings take place during the remainder of 2003 without incident.

**2004 24 April:** Annan Plan V is put to the vote of both communities in separate referenda. Greek Cypriots reject the plan by 75.8 percent, and the Turkish Cypriots accept it by 64.9 percent. **1 May:** Having signed the Accession Treaty in Athens on 16 April of the same year, Cyprus officially becomes a full member of the EU. **December:** Turkey agrees to recognize the Greek Cyprus de facto as an EU member before the start of its own accession talks scheduled for October 2005. However, the Turkish prime minister warns that the Cyprus problem should be solved justly and the EU should keep its promises to the Turkish Cypriots.

**2005 17 April:** "Prime Minister" Mehmet Ali Talat elected "TRNC" president. Denktash era ends. **May:** Exploratory talks are held between the UN and the two sides.

**2006 3 July:** President Tassos Papadopoulos and the Turkish Cypriot leader, Mehmet Ali Talat, meet during a session of the Committee on Missing Persons in Cyprus. **8 July:** UN Undersecretary-General for Political Affairs Ibrahim Gambari, Papadopoulos, and Talat have a three-hour meeting in Nicosia.

2007 9 March: The authorities of the Republic of Cyprus bring down the wall and the checkpoint on Ledra Street in the center of old Nicosia. Even though the Turkish Cypriot side had already dismantled the checkpoint from their side, it was believed that free crossing would not have started unless the demands of the Greek Cypriots had been met. They included removal of Turkish and Turkish Cypriot flags and the disengagement of Turkish troops from the area. 4 July: Senior U.S. embassy official found dead after four days of intensive search by Cypriot police. Army Lt. Col. Thomas Mooney, a 45-year-old diplomat, was on his second term of duty in Cyprus. A police statement states that an autopsy shows Mooney bled to death from a cut to the throat. A Cypriot official involved in the autopsy tells the Associated Press that the diplomat "had a wound in the neck which is compatible with self-infliction." 10 July: The Council of the European Union approves Cyprus's application to join the euro area on 1 January 2008. Cyprus pound (CYP) is to be replaced by euro at the irrevocably fixed exchange rate of  $\in 1 = CYP 0.585274$ .

**2008 17 February:** First round of presidential elections in the Republic of Cyprus takes place. The three main candidates are the incumbent, Tassos Papadopoulos, Demetris Christofias of AKEL, and Ioannis Kasoulides of DISY. Christofias and Kasoulides progress to the second round. **24 February:** In the second round, Christofias wins with 53.37 percent of the vote, against Kasoulides's 46.63 percent. **28 February:** Demetris Christofias is sworn in as president of the Republic of Cyprus. **March:** Demetris Christofias, President of the Republic of Cyprus, and Mehmet Ali Talat, the Turkish Cypriot leader, agree to formally commence negotiations toward a settlement. **3 April:** A fifth crossing point between the two sides opens at Ledra Street. The crossing, opened at

9 AM, is briefly closed by the Greek Cypriot police only 12 hours later for violation of the agreement. The situation is quickly resolved with UN mediation, and the crossing is reopened (and remains so to date). **1 July:** President Christofias and the Turkish Cypriot leader, Mehmet Ali Talat, reach an agreement on the issues of sovereignty and single citizenship within a reunified federal structure enjoying a single international identity. They also come to an understanding on the two constituent, Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot, states within the federal system. **September:** The UN-sponsored talks for the reunification of Cyprus between President Christofias and Mehmet Ali Talat, the Turkish Cypriot leader, begin. The two men have since been meeting weekly, and according to Alexander Downer, the UN secretary-general's special advisor on Cyprus, have made significant progress by putting "more on paper now of an agreed nature than at any time since 1974."

**2009 April 19:** Turkish Cypriots hold "parliamentary" elections. National Unity Party (NUP), opposed to reunification of Cyprus as a single state, wins 44 percent of votes, gaining 26 of 50 seats in the "Assembly." The Republican Turkish Party (RTP) of the Turkish Cypriot leader, in favor of the federal Cyprus, wins only 29 percent of the votes, receiving 15 seats.

# Introduction

Cyprus, the island of Aphrodite, boasts some of the most beautiful beaches in the Mediterranean. The island combines natural beauty with cultural appeal. Every year nearly three million tourists flock to its shores for sun, sea, sand, and other alluring features—from the hospitality of the local population to the abundant history, which goes back thousands of years. A European country benefiting from Western rationality but endowed with an Eastern heart, Cyprus has also enjoyed remarkable political and economic achievements since independence in 1960.

The beauty of the landscape, whether in the Troodos mountains or on the beaches of Ayia Napa is, however, somewhat marred by the political problem that has engulfed the island for nearly half a century. Nicosia, the only divided city in Europe, represents the division that now exists geographically and politically between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots. Separated by United Nations (UN) forces along a line that cuts right across the island, known as the Green Line, the two main Cypriot communities have now lived apart for decades. Efforts to reunify the island have thus far failed. The ever-elusive Cyprus solution has defied the end of the Cold War and Cyprus's accession to the European Union (EU).

### LAND AND PEOPLE

Cyprus is the third largest Mediterranean island, after Sicily and Sardinia, covering an area of 9,251 square kilometers. It is located southeast of Greece (360 kilometers from Rhodes and Karpathos), 60 kilometers south of Turkey, 90 kilometers west of Lebanon, and 300 kilometers north of Egypt, thus sitting at the intersection of three

continents, Asia, Europe, and Africa. It lies at a latitude of 34'33'– 35'34' North and a longitude of 32'16'–34'37' East. The island enjoys long sandy beaches, and, in places, crystal-clear seas. The Troodos mountain range, in the central and southwestern part of the island, has a height of 1,953 meters above sea level at its peak, Mount Olympos, whereas the Kyrenia or Pentadaktylos range in the northern part of the island peaks at a height of 1,024 meters. The north coastal plain abounds in olive and carob trees and hosts steep mountain ranges rich in limestone. The extensive mountain massif of Troodos in the south, however, is covered with pine, cedar, cypress, and oak trees.

Cyprus has a Mediterranean climate: hot summers (June to September) and mild winters (November to March). In between, there are short-lived springs and autumns marked by rapid changes in weather patterns in October, April, and May. The average daily sunshine from April to September is around 11 hours, and the island enjoys more than 300 days of sunshine in the year. Strong weather systems such as gales or storms are rare. There is usually snow on Troodos, above 1,000 meters (but rarely if ever in the cities) between December and April.

The arable area of the island stands at 46.8 percent according to official estimates, and a substantial amount of agricultural produce is exported to Europe. There are around 1,800 different species of flowering plants in Cyprus, 8 percent of which are unique to the island. Also, this sunny Mediterranean country boasts 7 species of land mammals, the most famous of which is the moufflon; 26 species of amphibians and reptiles; 365 species of birds; and 197 species of fish. The island is a stopover for millions of birds migrating between Africa and Europe annually. The reason for that are the two wetlands of Larnaca and Akrotiri Salt Lakes. The imperial eagle and the Eleonora's falcon are among the most fascinating birds of prey on the island. The green turtle and the loggerhead turtle breed regularly on Cyprus's sandy beaches and are strictly protected species. The main forest plants are the brutial pine and the black pine found in Troodos. The cyclamen has been declared Cyprus's national plant and the golden oak its national tree.

Strategically, the island of Cyprus is in an advantageous position. Its proximity to the three continents affords it an importance greater than its geographical size or population number would initially suggest. That factor alone can perhaps explain the uninterrupted interest of foreign powers in the island throughout history. Its good weather also allows for military training throughout the year, while the high peaks of Troodos make for good listening posts and radar stations. Currently, some of the most sophisticated radar and listening devices, capable of intercepting movements in the Middle East and the whole region including the Russian terrain, are stationed in the Troodos mountains. These devices belong to Great Britain and are operated by the British Army. Britain has two Sovereign Base Areas in Cyprus, Akrotiri and Dhekelia (around 3% of the territory of the Republic), which are part of British territory and outside of the jurisdiction of the Republic of Cyprus. There are other nonsovereign areas and facilities operated by Great Britain.

Turkey and Greece also consider Cyprus important in their geo-strategic calculations. The Turks regard the island as their soft underbelly with close proximity to their mainland. Greeks, on the other hand, have utilized Cyprus and the Cyprus problem in their old and long-raging disputes with Ankara. Presently, the presence of some 30,000 Turkish troops in the northern part of the island is a stumbling block in Turkey's bid to become a full member of the EU. As one of the most pro-Western Muslim countries in the world and the only Islamic state in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), Turkey's political orientation can be an important and determining factor as regards the theoretical civilizational framework propounded by Samuel Huntington. The European vocation of Turkey can diminish the prospects of a world divided along civilizational and religious lines. However, the rejection of Turkey's application can conceivably have the opposite effect. Here also Cyprus and the Cyprus problem appear to be playing a crucial role in the geo-strategic developments that will affect not only Europe but perhaps the wider world. It is thus evidently clear that the island of Cyprus bears great strategic and geo-strategic significance.

Cypriots, like many other nationalities, come from different ethnic backgrounds. The majority of the population is Greek Cypriot and accounts for 80 percent of its makeup. Greek Cypriots speak Greek and belong to the Greek Orthodox denomination in Christianity. It should be noted, however, that the Church of Cyprus is independent and has no hierarchical relation with the Church in Greece. Nowadays, Greek Cypriots are concentrated in the southern government-controlled area of the island, apart from a tiny minority that is still located on the Karpas Peninsula in the northeastern corner of the island. Turkish Cypriots are the smaller community on the island and account for only 18 percent of the population; they practice the Sunni sect of Islam, speak Turkish, and reside, by and large, in the northern sector, which is currently occupied by Turkish troops. The remaining communities are Armenians, Maronites, Latins, and others.

Culturally speaking, though European in orientation, some aspects of Cypriot temperament are distinctly non-Western. The importance of family life, for example, resembles Eastern sentiments, where parents are expected to provide financial assistance to their children into their adult lives. The close-knit family culture has contributed to the appeal of the island to Easterners. Cypriots, it could be said, have a combination of Eastern sentimentality and Western rationality.

The intercommunal relations in Cyprus have not been harmonious since December 1963, when civil strife disrupted the smooth functioning of government and a de facto separation between the two communities began to emerge. There is some dispute about the preindependence tranquility between the Greek and Turkish Cypriots, but in the main evidence suggests a peaceful and cooperative coexistence between them. Although religious differences, for the most part, forbade intermarriage, there seems to have been sufficient intercommunal interaction to ensure a tolerant and harmonious Cypriot polity. Intercommunal differences notwithstanding, foreign interference also appears to have played a part in triggering violence between them. Today the two communities live apart, though since April 2003 they can travel freely all over the island.

Financially, Greek Cypriots appear to enjoy a higher standard of living than their fellow Turkish Cypriots. The latest estimates put Gross Domestic Product per capita for Greek Cypriots at just under \$23,000 per year and for Turkish Cypriots at roughly a third of that amount.

### HISTORY

# **Early History**

According to mythology, Cyprus is the birthplace of Aphrodite, the goddess of love and beauty. The history of the island goes back 11,000 years.

The Neolithic Period (8200-3900 BC) marked the beginning of the first settlement on the island along the northern and southern coastlines. Stone vessels were used during this period, and pottery emerged after 5000. The Chacolithic Age (3900–2500 BC) marked the transition between the Stone Age and the Bronze Age. Settlements in this phase were concentrated in the western part of the island, where a fertility cult developed. The discovery of copper allowed its use, albeit on a small scale. During the Bronze Age (2500-1050 BC), the exploitation of copper led to trade with the surrounding people in the Near East, Egypt, and the Aegean, where Cyprus was known as Alasia. As a result, some wealth was brought to the island. In the second half of the second millennium BC, Mycenaean merchants and Achaean Greeks settled Cyprus spreading their language and culture. Having taken control of Cyprus, they established the first city-kingdoms of Kition, Kourion, Salamis, and Paphos. During the Geometric Period (1050-750 BC), the island boasted 10 city-kingdoms. While Phoenicians settled in Kition, the cult of the goddess Aphrodite became more popular in Cyprus. The Archaic and Classical Period (750-310 BC) saw continuing prosperity, which attracted foreign conquerors to the island. Cypriot kingdoms became tributary to Assyria, Egypt, and Persia. The city-kingdom of Salamis, ruled by King Evagoras (ruling 411-374 BC), managed to unify the island and emphasized the Hellenic culture in Cyprus. Toward the end of this period, Alexander the Great conquered Cyprus. During the Hellenistic Period (310-30 BC), rivalries between Alexander's successors gave way to the Ptolemies of Egypt ruling the island. The Ptolemies abolished the city-kingdoms and selected Paphos as the capital.

# From the Byzantines to the Ottomans

During the Roman Period (30 BC-AD 330), the missionary work of St. Paul and St. Barnabas led to the conversion of the Proconsul Sergius Paulus, making Cyprus the first land to be governed by a Christian. Devastating earthquakes in this period meant that some cities had to be rebuilt. The division of the Roman Empire resulted in Cyprus coming under the rule of Byzantium, or the eastern Roman Empire. During the Byzantine Period (AD 330–1191), Christianity was emphasized and Emperor Zeno afforded full autonomy to the Church of Cyprus. However, starting in 647 under the rule of Mu'awiya, Arabs launched

several raids on the island, some successfully. Emperor Phocas eventually expelled them from Cyprus and Asia Minor in 965. Upon the mistreatment of the survivors of a shipwreck of his fleet on their way to the Third Crusade by Isaac Comnenus, the ruler of Cyprus, King Richard the Lionheart, defeated Isaac and conquered the island. He married Berengaria of Navarre in Limassol, crowning her as Queen of England. However, one year later he sold Cyprus for 100,000 dinars to the Knights Templar, who in turn sold it to Guy Lusignan, the deposed King of Jerusalem, at the same price. A feudal system prevailed across the island during the Frankish (Lusignan) Period (AD 1192–1489), and the Catholic Church officially replaced the Orthodox Church. Many city names were changed; for example, Lefkosia, Ammochostos, and Lemesos became Nicosia, Famagusta, and Limassol. In 1489, Queen Caterina Cornaro ceded the island to the Venetians, officially marking the end of the Frankish rule in Cyprus.

During the Venetian Period (AD 1489–1571), Cyprus was viewed as the last bastion against the Ottoman Empire. To that end, the Venetians built wondrous walls in Famagusta and moved the boundaries of Nicosia further back within fortified walls in case of a military attack by the Ottomans.

The Ottoman Empire defeated the Venetians in 1571 and ruled Cyprus until 1878. Their attack, under the command of Lala Mustafa in 1570, led to the capture of the whole island except for Famagusta, to which he laid siege for one year before it finally succumbed to the advancing army. The manner of conquest, like most military victories in history, was bloody. The treatment of the Venetian commander of Famagusta was particularly savage. The Greek Orthodox Church of Cyprus, after centuries of discrimination and persecution, was restored, and the archbishop of Cyprus was accepted as the representative of all people in Cyprus to the sultan. But the Greek war of independence in 1821 and the execution of the archbishop of Cyprus and others led to the deterioration of relations between the inhabitants of the island and their Ottoman rulers.

### British Rule (1878–1960)

Concerned with Russian designs in the region, and eager to secure British support, the Ottomans left the administration of the island to Great Britain under a convention in 1878. Cyprus, however, remained formally within the Ottoman Empire until 1914, when the sultan joined Germany in World War I and Britain in consequence renounced the 1878 agreement to annex the island. In 1923, by virtue of the Treaty of Lausanne, Turkey relinquished all rights to the island, and in 1925 Great Britain formally declared Cyprus a Crown colony. After World War II, amid the wave of decolonization sweeping the world, Greek Cypriots engaged in a military campaign for *enosis*, union with Greece. Turkish Cypriots, in response, expressed their desire for taksim, partition of the island. In the end, however, and after much political intrigue, the London-Zurich Agreements of 1959 led to the birth of an independent Republic of Cyprus and not enosis. During British rule, executive power was in the hands of the governer/high commissioner who managed the affairs of the island with the help of a group of senior British administrative officials. An Executive Council, comprising the highest British officials, had only a consultative status. The most significant change which the British occupation brought about in the administrative system was the introduction, for the first time in the history of Cyprus, of some parliamentary forms through the establishment of a Legislative Council. Between 1880 and 1882, Lord Kimberly, who was in charge of the Colonial Office, did accept that Cyprus was different from the rest of the British colonies and that Cypriots had contributed greatly to what is known as European culture.

Opinion is divided as to the harmonious relations between the two communities during British rule. Some believe that the presence of an overseeing third party on the island had mitigated anxieties in the two communities vis-à-vis one another and that the departure of the British from Cyprus thus removed the blanket of protection by an outside power for the minority community, the Turkish Cypriots. This group of observers points to various incidents in the colonial period that support the separation of the two communities and their uneasy relationship. Another group, however, subscribes to the view that the two communities were reasonably well integrated and respected—and in some cases observed the religious requirements and rituals of the other community. Their cooperation in the Assembly established by Britain prior to 1931, they assert, supports that view. The closure of the Assembly by Britain, in response to the burning down of the Governor's House in 1931, was in their view a negative development. Also, this group of scholars believes that the 1955 tripartite conference in Lancaster House in London, among Great Britain, Greece, and Turkey, set Greece and Turkey at loggerheads with one another over Cyprus.

# **Since Independence**

The history of the island since independence in 1960 has been rather turbulent. Intercommunal disputes began to cripple the newly established government almost from the beginning. Disputes emanating from the constitutional right of veto granted to the Turkish Cypriot vice president, then Fazil Kuchuk, matched only by equal rights reserved for the Greek Cypriot president, then Archbishop Makarios, seemed to impede the smooth functioning of the state. The turning point came late in 1963, when Turkey and the Turkish Cypriots rejected 13 proposals by Makarios to amend the constitution. The intercommunal violence that followed led to the physical separation of the two communities. A strongly worded letter from U.S. President Lyndon Johnson deterred Turkey from taking military action. The UN dispatched a peacekeeping force, the United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP), and appointed a mediator, former Ecuadorian president Galo Plaza, to reconcile the intercommunal differences. The mediator issued a report in 1965, which Turkey and the Turkish Cypriots rejected. In 1967, another round of intercommunal violence erupted, threatening a Greco-Turkish war. Intervention by the United States (US) by way of shuttle diplomacy by the then U.S. secretary of state, Cyrus Vance, removed the immediate threat of a wider armed regional conflict. Several rounds of negotiations between the two communities (1968-1974) failed to produce any results. By this time, the Turkish Cypriots had established their own de facto administration, unrecognized internationally and sometimes at great pains to satisfy their community. In the summer of 1974, the Greek military regime, on bitter terms with Makarios over ways to resolve the Cyprus problem, staged a coup against him and his government. Nicos Sampson was installed as president. In less than a week, however, both Sampson and his government were deposed, as was the Greek military junta in Athens. The catalyst for those changes came in the shape of a Turkish military operation, reportedly authorized under the Treaty of Guarantee, landing thousands of troops in Cyprus. The Geneva Talks, held to produce an agreement, and attended by the

guarantor Powers, were adversely affected by the second phase of Turkish military invasion in Cyprus. Ankara's unwillingness to restore the status quo ante in Cyprus as required by the Treaty of Guarantee clearly marked its military operation against the island as an invasion.

Since 1964, the two communities have gradually been led into living separate lives. Though accounts vary as to the exact causes of this separation, it can be safely assumed that the Turkish Cypriot leadership did not wish its community to live under the rules of the Republic of Cyprus, the mantle of which was now held exclusively by the Greek Cypriots. This self-imposed isolation, acknowledged in reports prepared by UN Secretary-General U Thant, was in part reportedly aided by the misguided belief of some members of the Greek Cypriot leadership that Turkish Cypriot participation was not required for running of the state. The net result was an ever-widening gap between the two communities, which culminated in the 1974 invasion.

The forced exchange of population involving well over 100,000 people produced a wave of Cypriot refugees in their own country. Members of both communities were forced under an agreement, arrived at by the de facto situation on the ground, to leave their homes behind and start new lives. Greek Cypriots moved to the south, whereas Turkish Cypriots headed to the north. Cyprus was now geo-politically separated into two parts. But the international community did not recognize the changes brought about by the use of force and continued to acknowledge the Government of Cyprus, run by Greek Cypriots, as the only legal representation of the state of Cyprus. Peacemaking efforts through the UN were, however, encouraged.

# The Events of 1974

The coming to power of the Greek colonels in Greece in 1967 had embittered relations between Nicosia and Athens. Makarios was steadfast in his opposition to any agreement that the Greek military regime might strike with the Turkish government over Cyprus. Such an agreement would have probably involved some kind of division of the island between the two mother countries, something Makarios did not accept. The establishment of EOKA B, led by Makarios's former ally-now-turnedenemy, General George Grivas, mirrored the tension between the two capitals had adverse implications for Cyprus. There was an unsuccessful assassination attempt on Makarios's life, but the most important consequence of strained relations was the coup of 15 July 1974 against the archbishop, conceived and controlled by Athens. Makarios, however, aided by the British, fled the island safely. After a short stay in Malta, he was flown to London and subsequently to Washington and New York. There, his status as the president of the Republic of Cyprus was reaffirmed.

Nicos Sampson, notorious for his enmity to the Turks, was installed as the head of the new regime. However, five days into the coup, on 20 July, Turkey, referring to the Treaty of Guarantee, launched a military operation against the island, leading to the collapse of the puppet regime in Nicosia as well as its military masters in Athens. Glafkos Clerides, a man liked and respected not only among Greek Cypriots but also by Turkey and the Turkish Cypriots, was appointed as the actingpresident until Makarios's return to the island later in the year. In the meantime, the second phase of the invasion was launched on 15 August during the Geneva Talks. What Makarios had worked so hard to prevent all his political life was now a reality on the ground: a de facto division of Cyprus. Ever since, numerous international efforts have taken place to reunify the island—but to no avail.

Among other consequences of the 1974 events have been the cases of missing people, numbering around 2,000, from both communities. Of late many such cases have been resolved as a result of intercommunal cooperation, yet many still remain unresolved. It is widely assumed that the missing people were killed during the hostilities in 1974.

# Accession to the European Union

On 4 July 1990, the Government of Cyprus submitted an application for full membership in the EU. This came on the back of an Association Agreement already signed between the then European Community (EC) and Cyprus some 20 years earlier on 19 December 1972. There were, however, formidable obstacles in the way of Cyprus's application for full membership; and they all emanated from the Cyprus problem.

Admitting Cyprus prior to a solution would naturally import the Cyprus problem into the EU. That was a most uncomfortable scenario from Brussels's point of view. If Cyprus was admitted, then Turkey as an occupying power in control of more than 30 percent of the island's territory would automatically be occupying the territory of a member state, which would put Ankara and the EU at loggerheads. None of the European powers wished to irritate their powerful eastern neighbor unnecessarily. That could have complicated their relations on a number of important issues at a time when cooperation between the two seemed more important than ever. However, keeping Cyprus out risked the veto by Greece of the application of all other candidate countries, something that Athens had threatened to do if Cyprus was refused entry.

The argument advanced by the government of Cyprus stated that Cyprus should not be punished for the invasion of the island by Turkey. Since it was Turkey, they said, that refused to abide by the resolutions of the UN asking for the withdrawal of its troops from the island, Ankara bore the responsibility for the continuation of the stalemate. Why should Cyprus therefore be deprived of membership in the European Union just because of Turkey's misdeeds? Turkish Cypriots, on the other hand, believed that entry of Cyprus into the EU before a solution was reached would remove a strong incentive on the part of the Greek Cypriots to reach a settlement. Tying EU entry to a solution, however, would have the opposite effect, encouraging the Greek Cypriots to do their utmost to arrive at a solution. Once in the EU, Turkish Cypriots asserted, Greek Cypriots would be less willing to compromise, making an agreement all the more difficult.

The US was also concerned about the possible consequences of Cyprus's entry, namely a deterioration of relations between Turkey and Europe, in turn potentially strengthening the Turkish Islamists' hand. To that end, Washington sought reassurance from the Europeans that Cyprus's admission into the EU would not compromise Ankara's European vocation. Neither Washington nor Europe wished to leave an embittered Turkey sitting on the eastern flank of Europe to be drawn into radical Islamist politics. The only Muslim member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and bordering Europe and the Middle East, Turkey was strategically too significant to be overlooked in regional and global calculations.

Despite all doubts and in spite of the Cyprus problem, the Republic of Cyprus, having signed the Accession Treaty on 16 April 2003, as-

### I • INTRODUCTION

sumed full membership in the EU on 1 May of the same year. What made this possible, against the odds, was Greece's unequivocal support for its application.

# **Peacemaking Efforts**

For more than 42 years, the international community has been engaged in attempts to find a lasting settlement to the problem confronting Cyprus. In the first decade of the troubles, from December 1963 to 1974, the problem appeared to focus on intercommunal disputes, whereas in the aftermath of 1974 and with the presence of more than 30,000 Turkish troops on the island, another important and external dimension has been added to the problem: that of occupation of territory. That is not to say that the external factors did not exist from the beginning or had been overlooked in peacemaking efforts. On the contrary, Resolution 186 of the UN Security Council adopted on 4 March 1964 had stated that any solution had to be sought with the agreement of the guarantor powers-Great Britain, Greece, and Turkey-as well as the government of Cyprus (Greek Cypriots) and the Turkish Cypriot community. The above indicated the presence of both internal and external factors in the Cyprus problem, the resolution of which has to take both into account.

Following the failure of the first mediator, Galo Plaza, no successor was appointed. Instead it was thought that the good offices of the UN secretary-general could be utilized for efforts to bring the two communities together. Numerous attempts were made and various initiatives launched, but to no avail. Under a mandate adopted by the Security Council adopted in 1964, the UN had its peacekeeping troops, called the United Nations Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP), stationed on the island, and a special representative of the secretary-general dispatched to Nicosia. On occasions when the problem could potentially trigger a wider Greco-Turkish conflict, such as 1963-1964 or 1967, the US appeared willing to invest time and diplomacy to calm the situation. The letter from President Lyndon Johnson to his Turkish counterpart in 1964 deterring Turkey from taking any military action against Cyprus, and the shuttle diplomacy of Cyrus Vance in 1967, traveling between Nicosia, Ankara, and Athens to prevent the escalation of the conflict, demonstrated that

The main question bearing on peacemaking efforts in Cyprus, particularly after the events of 1974, was which of the two factors, internal or external, was more important in terms of a solution. Why was it that despite the two High-Level Agreements of 1977 and 1979 between the two communities, no steps toward their implementation had ever been taken? Such instances and the unyielding and never-ending intercommunal negotiations appeared to give weight to the proposition that intercommunal negotiations and agreements alone could perhaps not resolve the problem by themselves. There was a need to engage outside powers in a more consistent and meaningful manner in efforts for a solution. Turkey, in particular, had to be involved, as its troops on the island wielded significant power in the northern sector of the country, to the chagrin of the Greek Cypriots in the south.

Lurking beneath the attitude of outside powers, most notably the US, toward the Cyprus problem was the Cold War and the policy of containment. In that regard the red line for Washington was a Greco–Turkish conflict over the issue, an event which could have threatened the cohesion of the southeastern flank of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Exactly for the same reason, the approach of the former Soviet Union to the Cyprus problem centered on driving a wedge between the two NATO partners over the Cyprus problem. The Cyprus left-wing party (AKEL) was also a source of concern for Washington. The approaches made to it by then Cyprus president Makarios and the latter's flirtation with Moscow had naturally complicated the issue for American policymakers. Cyprus had joined the Non-Aligned Movement and had staunchly opposed any NATO involvement in search of a solution. The question of Cyprus becoming a member of NATO had been proposed in private but was opposed by Makarios.

Therefore the Cold War left its mark on the Cyprus problem. Any resolution of the conflict would have automatically deprived the Soviets of an opportunity to weaken the Western alliance. It was also believed, but not substantiated, that through the left-wing party Moscow exercised influence in the country.

That is why the end of the Cold War and the dissolution of the Soviet Union gave hope to many that Cyprus could be a beneficiary of such developments and that a solution was around the corner. Among Greek Cypriots, in particular, the invasion of Kuwait by Iraq in 1990 and the subsequent rare international solidarity in taking military action to drive the Iraqi army out of Kuwait produced the expectation that a similar development could perhaps follow suit as regarded Cyprus. A Cyprus solution, it was believed, could be achieved in the new-found spirit of international cooperation. These hopes were dashed, however, after new post–Cold War initiatives also failed to break the deadlock and the stalemate continued.

Subsequently, the process of Cyprus's application to join the EU, it was thought, could be used to foster the right climate and encourage both sides to adopt a compromise position. Although Cyprus as a divided island appeared an unsuitable candidate for membership in the EU, the policy and diplomacy of the Greek government pushed Cyprus's application forward. Eager to absorb the east European countries formerly under Soviet influence, and in competition with the US to extend its influence in the former Communist world, the EU was intent on allowing 10 of those countries to join its fold in 2004. Greece threatened that the rejection of the Cyprus application for membership would carry the risk of a veto by Athens on the membership of all those candidates; either Cyprus joined the EU along with the other candidates, Greece contended, or no new member could be accepted into the Union at all. It was under such intense pressure on a strategically sensitive issue that Brussels agreed to include Cyprus on the list. It should be noted, however, that objections to Cyprus's application from some quarters in Europe were based solely on political considerations; otherwise, both culturally and economically Cyprus was viewed as a suitable candidate for membership.

"Constructive ambiguity," as it was called, was a policy adopted by European countries toward Cyprus's application: it would be difficult to allow a divided Cyprus into the club, as that would automatically turn the Cyprus problem into a European one and set Brussels and Ankara at loggerheads, an unattractive prospect to both European capitals and Washington. Accordingly, the government in Nicosia was encouraged to resolve the problem as soon as possible to expedite its membership in the European Union. At the same time, not allowing a divided Cyprus into the EU because of the Cyprus problem was tantamount to granting Turkey a veto on the island's membership. This, the Cyprus government contended, was rather like punishing Cyprus for being invaded and occupied by a foreign country. Because Turkish troops were in illegal occupation of the territory of the Republic and their presence appeared to hinder a solution, Ankara seemed to hold the key to a settlement. It was therefore thought that lack of political will in Ankara to bring a solution to Cyprus could not be allowed to stand in the way of Cyprus's legitimate aspiration to become a full member of the EU. Turkey, therefore, could face the possibility of being in occupation of the territory of a member of the EU, and that would provide an incentive to Ankara to seek a solution.

However, no solution came about. Most spectacularly, a plan endorsed by the UN, called Annan V, was defeated in a referendum by more than 75 percent of the Greek Cypriots in April 2004. The Turkish Cypriots, however, voted for the plan in a separate referendum by a margin of 64 percent. The rejection by the Greek Cypriots produced anxiety in the international community as to the likelihood of success of any future effort for reconciliation. Nonetheless, the government of Cyprus tried to allay concerns by restating its determination to find a viable and lasting settlement. The complex Annan Plan V appeared to contain elements that, while appealing to one community, tended to displease the other.

# **Prospects for the Future**

Politically speaking, Cyprus must feel more secure now that it is firmly anchored in the EU. The prospects of a violent conflict with its powerful northern neighbor have perceptibly diminished; after all, Ankara would not wish to lessen the chances of its own membership in the EU through another military engagement with a member-state. As a full member, Cyprus can perhaps begin to enjoy some of the tacit and diplomatic support that the club can offer.

Membership in the EU can also bring in further economic and financial gains. The political and economic stability has already attracted investment from the neighboring countries. Russians have poured in large sums of money, particularly in the coastal town of Limassol. The Lebanese, their country once again on the brink of civil strife, are bringing some savings into Cyprus for a rainy day. Those from the Middle East attracted by the Mediterranean weather of the island, its sandy beaches and clear waters, its short distance to the region, and its oriental flavor, prefer Cyprus to some other European destinations, whether for short-term tourism or a long-term stay.

#### liv • INTRODUCTION

The small size of the island has also to some degree protected it from large-scale criminal activity, although this aspect appears to have come under considerable strain of late. Still, compared with some other Western capitals, people seem to feel safer in Cyprus. This is particularly alluring to those with younger families and preoccupied with the question of crime and violence.

It would therefore appear fair to state that the island of Cyprus is an attractive destination for many. Offering a Western style of life within a Mediterranean setting with short commuting distances, sandy beaches, high mountains, and short distances to continental Europe and the Middle East all may seem like a paradise. And for those able to make it, it may in fact be so. However, against all that, it has to be noted that, offshore business aside, it is rather difficult to build oneself up in Cyprus. The small size of the island acts as a natural barrier to that. Even those engaged in offshore business usually have sizeable assets before they establish themselves on the island. Ambitious and aspiring individuals may thus do well to keep in mind that Cyprus for them may only be rewarding as a springboard. For those who have already established themselves in their profession, however, Cyprus is becoming an ever more attractive place of residence. Equally enchanted are the retired generation of Europeans, particularly British, who have now settled in Cyprus, mainly in the western town of Paphos.

What is going to become of the Cyprus problem, however? In the short to medium term, perhaps not much. International politics of course will have much to do with that, as will the internal politics of the island. To a considerable extent the future of the Cyprus problem appears tied to Turkey's application for EU membership. There seems to be some way to go before the application comes to fruition, and there is some doubt as to whether membership will ever be achieved. First there are some, albeit rather quiet, objections, notably from continental Europe, to it joining the Union on the basis of being a Muslim country. Second, there are concerns revolving around Ankara's close ties to Washington; some European capitals are skeptical about the merits of allowing Turkey into the EU as that, they fear, may increase U.S. influence inside the club. Third, Europe's concerns over Turkey's application are strategic. Turkey borders countries in the developing world like Syria, Iran, Iraq, and Armenia. Should Turkey become a full member, that would mean new migratory pressures on the eastern frontiers of the EU. Sharing borders with a turbulent Middle East is not a prospect Europeans cherish at the moment.

Nor is the situation within the island particularly more conducive to a solution, despite hopes raised after the presidential elections of 2008. There seems no particular rush on either side to come to an agreement. As for the Greek Cypriot side, any solution would have to agree with the acquis communitaire of the EU, a requirement that cannot conceivably be fulfilled considering the *realpolitik* of the region at the moment. The basic freedoms of movement, settlement, and the right to property throughout the island are most difficult, if not impossible, to be formulated into a solution. The history of the island in the past decades may well stand in the way of such arrangements. Yet the Greek Cypriots, the majority community, feel entitled to what they consider to be their basic human rights. The Turkish Cypriots, on the other hand, may also be wary of a negotiated solution now that their fellow Greek Cypriots have the advantage of being an EU member. Any solution for them must protect what they perceive as their fundamental rights as a separate community.

Against all that, however, the two sides recently declared their determination to find a solution before the end of 2009. That goal would have to be fulfilled in spite of a multitude of obstacles.

Therefore, an array of calculations, both internal and external, may impede a Cyprus settlement for the foreseeable future. That, however, can change. Politics is full of the unexpected, as has been witnessed only too plainly in the last 20 years or so. One should therefore not be surprised if suddenly, and despite all predictions, a Cyprus solution appeared on the horizon. But even so, such an outcome would in all likelihood come about in the aftermath of some major shifts in the positions of actors both inside and outside the island. Those shifts will be determined in part by developments on the global scene. Cyprus may thus continue, as in the past, to be a hostage to international politics. But as before, it will most probably survive them.

# The Dictionary

### – A –

**ABC INITIATIVE.** A tripartite, American-British-Canadian (ABC), initiative entitled "A Framework for a Cyprus Settlement," which was set in motion by **United States (US)** President **Jimmy Carter**, in November 1978 in a renewed diplomatic effort to resolve the **Cyprus problem**. The framework envisaged a biregional, **independent** federal **republic** with a constitution largely based on the Makarios-Denktash Guidelines of February 1977 and the independence **Constitution** of 1960.

According to the plan, a bicameral system of legislature would be established. The Upper Chamber was to be divided equally between the two communities, whereas the Lower Chamber would have been divided according to population ratio. Foreign affairs, defense, currency, trade, central banking, federal finance, communications, customs, immigration, emigration, and civil aviation would have been under the jurisdiction of the federal **government**. The constituent states would have been responsible for any remaining functions. The offices of president and vice president would be represented by one **Greek Cypriot** and one **Turkish Cypriot**, who would jointly select the **Council of Ministers**.

The initiative also focused on the issue of **refugees** and supported the formation of a demilitarized republic, which would entail withdrawal of all foreign forces, with the exception of an agreed contingent. In addition, the plan recommended the immediate resettlement of **Famagusta** as an act of goodwill. Although **Glafkos Clerides** considered the plan as a basis for negotiations, the initiative was rejected by Greek Cypriots, who found the limitations to the power of the central government and to free movement unacceptable. In

### 2 • ACHESON PLAN

addition, the geographical concessions to be granted to the Turkish Cypriot side were viewed as excessive; Turkish Cypriots also rejected the plan.

Although unsuccessful, the ABC initiative fueled further efforts toward a solution to the Cyprus problem. The **United Nations** Security Council went on to initiate **intercommunal talks** based on the Makarios–Denktash Guidelines and incorporated some aspects of the plan. To date, this was the last plan the US put together to resolve the Cyprus problem.

ACHESON PLAN. In December 1963, hostilities broke out between the **Turkish Cypriot** and **Greek Cypriot** communities. Dean Acheson, a former **United States** (US) secretary of state, devised a plan that aimed to ease tensions while simultaneously achieving American goals for the region. The rising profile of communism on the island concerned the United States, as there was increased cooperation between **Archbishop Makarios III** and the **Progressive Party for the Working People** (AKEL) in running the country.

The main provisions of the Acheson Plan pushed for partial partition of the island (*see also* TAKSIM). The plan envisioned the unification (*enosis*) of Cyprus with **Greece**. However, in compensation for *enosis* with Greece, the plan proposed that **Turkey** be granted a substantial amount of Cypriot territory to establish a sovereign military base. The proposed area for the base was the **Karpas Peninsula**. Greece rejected the plan.

Acheson went on to develop a second version of the plan, which strived to address Greek and Greek Cypriot concerns. Although Greece initially approved the second Acheson Plan, it was eventually forced to veto it because of the staunch opposition of Archbishop Makarios III. One of the provisions of the second plan proposed that the Turkish Base Area be subject to a 50-year lease. This differed from the first plan, which had recommended Turkish sovereignty over the base area in perpetuity, and so Turkey also opposed the plan. In 1966, Acheson stated that a solution to the **Cyprus problem** could be imposed by the use of "superior and more sophisticated arms." AFXENTIOU, GREGORIS PIERIS (1928–1957). A key operative of the National Organization of Cypriot Fighters (EOKA). At the time of his death, Afxentiou was EOKA's second-in-command. Born in the village of Lyssi, Famagusta District, he was educated locally. On 16 September 1949 Afxentiou arrived in Athens intent on applying for admission to the Military Academy. Although he failed the entrance exam, Afxentiou was undeterred, and on 28 December 1949 he realized his military aspirations by joining the Royal Hellenic Army as a volunteer. On 22 March 1950 Afxentiou, by then a Greek citizen, enlisted at the Siros School of Reservist Officers. After graduating, he served on the Greco-Bulgarian frontier. Afxentiou returned to Cyprus on 19 March 1953.

The early 1950s in Cyprus saw stirrings of unrest that stemmed from dissatisfaction with the **British** colonial administration and a wish for *enosis* with **Greece**. EOKA had begun to plan a war of liberation against colonial rule. Afxentiou joined EOKA in January 1955 and assumed a leading operational role. April 1, 1955, marked the beginning of the military phase of EOKA's liberation plan.

Afxentiou's nom de guerre was *Zidros*, and as one of EOKA's key operatives he soon became a wanted man and was forced to go into hiding to evade capture. On 3 March 1957, British paratroopers surrounded Afxentiou's hideout in the Macheras mountains, but he refused to surrender. The British, unable to capture or subdue him, eventually poured fuel into the hideout and ignited it, burning Afxentiou alive.

Buried without a funeral at **Nicosia** Central Prison, along with another 12 EOKA members, Afxentiou was posthumously awarded the medal of the "Star of Valor and Honor" of the Hellenic Republic.

**A.G. LEVENTIS FOUNDATION.** A philanthropic foundation established in 1979 to realize the aspirations of the late Anastasios Leventis. A key player in the social and philanthropic life of all the countries he had lived in, Leventis had always shown a particularly keen interest in his homeland, Cyprus, and its people.

The first chairman of the foundation was Constantine Leventis, Anastasios's nephew. During the first few years of its operation, his leadership was crucial in defining the foundation's policy. Following Anastasios Leventis's wishes, and with a particular emphasis on the

#### 4 • AGRICULTURE

conservation and dissemination of the Greek and Cypriot cultural heritage, Constantine Leventis organized the foundation's activities based on three principles: culture, education, and philanthropy. In Cyprus and **Greece**, the Leventis Foundation has supported and continues to support a wide range of organizations and events in cultural and historical fields, but its main focus has been the restoration of a number of historical monuments.

Overseas in Europe and further afield, the foundation has placed importance on the culture and history of Cyprus and Greece, and has focused on the communities of the Greek Diaspora, especially the Cypriot and Greek community in **Great Britain**. A worldwide support program for Greek studies, encompassing all historical periods, has been advanced over the years, together with efforts to study and improve the presentation of Cypriot antiquities in international museums.

In West Africa, the area where Anastasios Leventis spent his early and middle working years, an independent foundation was eventually set up in 1988 to continue an already existing philanthropic program. The main activity of the Leventis Foundation (Nigeria) is the supervision and operation of four agricultural faculties established by the foundation itself in Nigeria and Ghana, specializing in innovative ways of training small farmers to improve productivity, efficiency, and environmental sensitivity. Graduates are financed to purchase basic tools and a small allowance is granted to them until they obtain their first income and are able to start their own farming business. More than 1,800 young farmers have attended the foundation's agricultural schools, which are acknowledged both internationally and by the state. Current Chairman of the Foundation, Mr. Anastasios P. Leventis, succeeded his brother, the late Mr. Constantine Leventis, who passed away in 2002. See also LEVENTIS MUSEUM.

**AGRICULTURE.** Agriculture in Cyprus can be divided into livestock production/animal husbandry (cattle, sheep, pigs, and poultry) and crop production. The island's microclimates and varied topography allow for diversified crop production. Crop production can be further subdivided into irrigated agriculture (table grapes, melons, deciduous fruits, citrus fruits, and bananas) and rain-fed agriculture (wine grapes, cereals, fodders, olives, carob, and almonds).

At the time of Cypriot **independence** in 1960, agriculture was a thriving sector of the **economy**. Farming tended to be small-scale and owner-operated, and subsistence farming was common. The expansion of the manufacturing and service sectors in the early 1970s coincided with the onset of a decline in agriculture. The 1974 **coup d'état** and the subsequent **invasion** saw agricultural resources split between the **"Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC)"**-occupied north and the **Republic of Cyprus**-governed south. The north controlled the Mesaoria plain, which is a fertile crop-producing area that produced 68 percent of the island's cereal (wheat and barley). In fact, the north also took control of 79 percent of the country's citrus groves plus all tobacco production. Most of vineyards and three-quarters of potato growing areas (Kokkinochoria) were located and have remained in the southern, Republic of Cyprus-governed area.

In 1976, agriculture amounted to 17.3 percent of the gross domestic product (GDP), in 1979 it was 10.7 percent, and by 1988 it had fallen to 7.7 percent. Severe water shortages in the 1990s, which limited irrigation, caused further decline of the sector. However, production increased in the period of 1999–2003. Then in 2007, agriculture accounted for 2.7 percent of GDP. The vast majority of Cypriot agricultural exports end up in **European Union (EU)** countries. The sector accounted for 41 percent of exports in 2001 and 32 percent in 2005 in the area controlled by the Republic of Cyprus and 10.6 percent in the occupied area.

Since 1960, there has been a gradual reduction in the percentage of the economically active population employed in the agricultural sector. Prior to 1974, approximately 30 percent of the workforce was employed in this sector. By 1978, this percentage had dropped to 23 percent, and by 1989 it was down to 13 percent. The continued expansion of the manufacturing and service sectors in the 1990s saw further reductions in the number of people employed in agriculture, and by 2007 only 8.5 percent of the working population was employed in the sector.

**AKAMAS PENINSULA.** The Akamas Peninsula is a largely inaccessible area of outstanding natural beauty situated north of **Paphos**. The peninsula, a popular destination for hikers and naturalists, is characterized by its wild, virgin landscape, beautiful beaches and bays, and deep gorges. The peninsula is the only vast coastal area that

6 • AKEL

has remained intact in Cyprus and is home to 530 plant, 168 bird, 12 mammal, 20 reptile, and 16 butterfly species. The district is thus of great ecological importance.

Lara Bay is an important turtle breeding site that is home to two species of sea turtle, the green turtle (*chelonia mydas*) and the log-gerhead turtle (*caretta caretta*). The International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN) has categorized loggerheads as vulnerable and green turtles as endangered—their survival depends on the beaches of Akamas.

The environmental importance of the Akamas Peninsula has been acknowledged far beyond the shores of Cyprus, gaining inclusion in the Mediterranean Protection Program of the European Council. A report commissioned by the government of Cyprus and sponsored by the World Bank recommended that the Akamas Peninsula be treated as a Biosphere Reserve. A large part of the reserve was to be designated as a national park. Cyprus has been identified as one of the 22 areas of endemism in Europe and is one of only three areas to be inhabited by two or more restricted-range species of birds. Various groups, including Green Peace and Friends of the Earth, continue to campaign for the peninsula to be awarded national park status.

The Akamas peninsula is threatened on several fronts, of which **tourism** is by far the most significant threat. A considerable amount of development is found in the areas bordering Akamas in the form of hotels, apartments, holiday homes, restaurants, etc. Moreover, extensive uncontrolled activity in the vicinity, such as tourist safaris, hunting, fishing, and grazing has added to the problem. The area is also subject to **British military** exercises, motor rallies, and fires that have a major impact on the region. Although the vicinity is a proposed national park, Lara Bay is, to date, the only site in Cyprus to be designated as a Mediterranean Specially Protected Area under the Barcelona Convention. *See also* KARPAS PENINSULA.

AKEL. See PROGRESSIVE PARTY OF THE WORKING PEOPLE.

AKINCI, MUSTAFA (1947–). "Deputy prime minister" and "tourism minister" in the National Unity Party-Communal Liberation Party (NUP-CLM) and coalition administration of the "Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC)" (see "COUNCIL OF MINISTERS," TURKISH-ADMINISTERED AREA). Born in Limassol and having studied architecture at the Middle East Technical University, Akinci was elected "mayor" of the northern-occupied part of Nicosia in the 1970–1980 period and in 1986. During his tenure, there was much cooperation between the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot municipalities of Nicosia: both Akinci and his Greek Cypriot counterpart, Lellos Demetriades, worked on the implementation of the Nicosia Master Plan. The Turkish Cypriot "mayor" also took an active part in the establishment of the Cyprus Turkish Union of Municipalities. In 1990, Akinci was elected to the "TRNC Assembly" but refused to take his seat, reportedly justifying his decision by asserting that there had been outside interference in the elections (see "HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES," TURKISH-ADMINISTERED AREA). In 1993, he was again elected to the "Assembly," and reelected in 1998. In 2003, after the establishment of the Peace and Democracy Movement (PDM), Akinci, as the leader of the party, was once again elected as a member of the Turkish Cypriot "Assembly." Prior to forming the PDM, Akinci was the head of Communal Liberation Party (CLP) between 1987 and 2001 (see POLITICAL PARTIES, TURKISH CYPRIOT).

**AKRITAS PLAN.** A plan drawn up in 1963 by the **Greek Cypriot** Minister of Interior Polycarpos Georgadjis (*see* COUNCIL OF MIN-ISTERS). Many **Turkish Cypriots** believe that the plan was devised by Greek Cypriot leaders in an attempt to oust them from the Cyprus **government** prior to the 1963 crisis. The objective of the plan was to prove to the international community that constitutional changes were a prerequisite for a fully functional government on the island. Concessions made to the Turkish Cypriot community in the 1960 **Constitution** were deemed too extensive. A central theme of the plan was that the smaller community, that is, Turkish Cypriots, had no grounds to feel threatened by constitutional changes that rendered Greek Cypriots the dominant community. Another of the plan's alleged goals was the revocation of the Treaty of Guarantee and the Treaty of Alliance. If these aims had been achieved, **enosis** could have become possible.

If the Turkish Cypriot community failed to accept the changes and made any attempt to block the changes through a show of

### 8 • AKROTIRI BAY

aggression, the plan anticipated "their violent subjugation, in a day or two" before any foreign powers had time to intervene. The plan was leaked to a Greek Cypriot newspaper before it could be implemented (*see* PRESS).

- **AKROTIRI BAY.** Akrotiri Bay is situated to the east of the Akrotiri Peninsula on the southern coast of Cyprus and is home to the city of **Limassol**. *See also* BRITISH SOVEREIGN BASE AREAS (SBAs).
- ALI, IHSAN (1904–1978). Turkish Cypriot doctor and advisor to successive Cypriot presidents (*see* Appendix A, Presidents of the Republic of Cyprus). Born in Pretsia, Paphos, Ihsan Ali studied medicine in Istanbul and Geneva. Upon his return to Cyprus in 1934, he worked as a general practitioner until his death in 1978.

In 1970, Ali was appointed as an advisor to Archbishop Makarios III and later to Spyros Kyprianou. Ihsan Ali was a pacifist and encouraged the island's communities (Greek Cypriots, Turkish Cypriots, Armenians, Maronites, and Latins) to come together and work toward unity. He was a staunch supporter of Greco-Turkish friendship and cooperation. He opposed foreign intervention on the grounds that he believed it would create disunion. Ali's beliefs frequently caused him to be in conflict with some members of his community who favored *taksim* (partition). In fact, he became a target of dogmatic elements from both communities.

- ALLIANCE, TREATY OF. See COUP D'ETAT; CYPRUS PROB-LEM; INVASION.
- **AMATHUS.** The ancient city-kingdom, dating back to approximately 1000 BC, whose remains are located about eight kilometers east of **Limassol**. The origins of the settlement are the subject of many myths and legends. According to one legend, Amathus was named after Amathousa, the mother of King Cinyras of **Paphos**. Another maintains that Amathus, son of King Aerias of Paphos, created a shrine to **Aphrodite** (Venus Amathusia) there. The goddess Aphrodite was worshipped at a clifftop temple dated approximately to the first century BC. Also according to legend, Amathus

was the place of feasts in honor of Adonis and Aphrodite, with athletes taking part in wild boar hunting competitions, dancing, and singing.

In yet another legend, Theseus is said to have abandoned Ariadne at Amathus, where she died during childbirth. She was then laid to rest in a sacred tomb in the grove that the Amathusians are believed to have called the Wood of Aphrodite Ariadne.

The Kingdom of Amathus spanned across coastal cliffs enjoying spectacular views of the **Mediterranean**. Due to trade with the Greeks and the Levantines, the settlement prospered in its early years and later, during the post-**Phoenician** Era (800 BC), a port was constructed. The principal sources of the kingdom's wealth were copper mining and agriculture.

In Roman times, Amathus served as the capital of one of only four administrative regions. In the fourth century AD, it became the Episcopal Seat and continued to prosper up to the Byzantine period. Toward the end of the sixth century AD, Ayios Ioannis Eleimonas (Saint John the Charitable), protector of knights, was born in Amathus.

When **Richard the Lionheart**, on his way to the Third Crusade, arrived in Cyprus in 1191, Amathus had already been deserted as a result of **Arab raids**. After defeating **Isaac Comnenos**, Richard I sold the island to the Knights Templar.

Following the demise of Amathus, a new settlement was established further inland. The settlement was named after St. Tychon, a bishop of Amathus. Ayios Tychonas exists today, and the ruins of the early settlement are visible. However, the **tourist** expansion of Limassol poses a significant threat to the ruins, and it is speculated that some of the hotels are actually on top of the Amathus necropolis. Many tombs had been plundered, and stone from the edifices had been incorporated in new buildings in Limassol. A large number of the stones used in the construction of the Suez Canal in 1869 came from Amathus.

Parties of Cypriot and French archeologists began excavations in the area in 1980. The Acropolis, Temple of Aphrodite, marketplace, city walls, basilica, and port have all been excavated. In the market, marble columns decorated with spiral ornaments and huge paved precincts were unearthed, and excavations in the coastal area of the city produced indications of an early Christian basilica with floors decorated with precious gems. *See also* ARCHEOLOGY. ANASTASIADES, NICOS (1946–). President of the right-wing Democratic Rally party (DISY). Born in the village of Pera Pedi in Limassol, Anastasiades studied law at the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens and completed postgraduate studies in maritime law at University College London. He was actively involved in the student union movement while studying in Athens. Later, Anastasiades became a founding member of the Democratic Rally party and its Youth Organization (NEDISY). He served as the latter's district secretary in Limassol (1976–1985). In 1985 he was elected vice president and two years later president of the organization. He was elected first vice president and deputy president of DISY in 1990 and 1995, respectively. Since 8 June 1997, he has been president of DISY, a position he has been reelected to on 20 June 1999, 25 May 2003, and 17 March 2007.

And since 1995, he has also been a member of the National Council, the all-party advisory body to the **president** of the **Republic** on issues relating to the **Cyprus problem**.

- ANNAN PLAN. A United Nations (UN) proposal presented by the UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan, assisted by Didier Pfirter, legal advisor to Alvaro de Soto. The plan proposed the creation of the United Cyprus Republic, which would incorporate the entire island with the exception of two British Sovereign Base Areas (SBAs). Though the links between the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot states would be loose and minimal, the two communities would come together within a federal republic. The federal level, which was to some extent based on the Swiss confederal model, would have incorporated:
  - A collective Presidential Council, consisting of six voting members appointed according to population.
  - A president and vice president (one from each community) selected by the Presidential Council from its members.
  - A bicameral legislature. In the Senate (Upper House), the 48 seats would be divided equally between the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities. In the Chamber of Deputies (Lower House), the 48 seats would be divided in proportion to the two communities' populations, with a minimum of 12 seats to be allocated to the smaller community.

• A Supreme Court composed of an equal number of Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot judges, plus three foreign judges who would be appointed by the Presidential Council.

In addition, the plan proposed the creation of a United Cyprus Republic **flag** and a national anthem. The issue of bringing the two communities closer together was central to the plan, and it was recommended that a Reconciliation Commission be established. The proposed commission would strive to narrow the division between the communities and seek to resolve past outstanding disputes.

There would have been a limited right of return for **refugees**. Furthermore, **Greece** and **Turkey** would have been permitted to maintain a permanent **military** presence on the island, albeit with large, phased, UN-monitored reductions in troop numbers.

UN-initiated talks began on 16 January 2002 between **Republic of Cyprus President Glafkos Clerides** and Turkish Cypriot leader **Rauf Denktash**, but no substantive progress was made. On 11 November 2002, UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan presented a detailed plan for a comprehensive settlement.

In the run-up to the **European Union** (EU) Copenhagen Summit of December 2002, intensive efforts were made to gain both sides' signatures to the document prior to a decision on the island's EU membership. Both sides declined to sign the agreement. On 26 February 2003, a third and final version of the plan was presented, and on 10 March 2003 Secretary-General Annan asked both sides to put the plan to vote. The leader of Turkish Cypriots, Rauf Denktash, refused to submit the plan to a referendum. President **Tassos Padopulous**'s willingness to hold a referendum was conditional upon resolution of the security issues in regard to Greece and Turkey and working out of a proper legal basis for a feasible and long-lasting conclusion to the Cyprus problem.

Prompted by Kofi Annan's invitation on 4 February 2004 to resume negotiations, Papadopoulos and Denktash agreed to recommence settlement talks on the basis of the Annan Plan. The two leaders returned to Cyprus and two weeks later sat at the negotiating table, meeting almost daily for talks that Secretary-General's Special Representative for Cyprus Alvaro de Soto arranged. The parties failed to agree on a settlement, and Rauf Denktash refused to attend the next stage of meetings scheduled to take place on 24 March 2004 in Borgenstock. He sent **Mehmet Ali Talat** and **Serdar Denktash** as his representatives. Eventually, it was agreed that a fifth version of the plan, known as Annan V, be put to referendums in both communities.

The referendums went ahead on 24 April 2004. The Turkish Cypriot community voted to accept the Annan Plan with a 64.9 percent favorable vote. However, two-thirds (75.83%) of the Greek Cypriots rejected the plan.

The Turkish government and Talat supported the plan, which did not differ in any fundamental respect from the earlier versions, even though Denktash had previously rejected it. Papadopoulos, along with most Greek Cypriot parties, was not in favor. Several political parties and the Greek Orthodox **Church of Cyprus** actively campaigned for rejection of the plan. The **Democratic Rally (DISY)** and **United Democrats (EDI)**, however, were not opposed to it. The Greek government concentrated on limiting the damage to Greco-Turkish relations. Greek Cypriots cited the following grounds for rejecting the Annan plan:

- The plan did not include a solution with regard to the repatriation of Turkish settlers living on Greek Cypriot-owned land in the occupied areas.
- The demilitarization of the de facto **"Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC)"** was not dealt with fully and Greek Cypriots needed a more detailed plan on this matter. Turkish assurances concerning the withdrawal of troops were not enough.
- Many viewed the Right of Return policy as seriously flawed because Turkish Cypriots would have had full right of return, whereas only 20 percent of Greek Cypriot **refugees** would have been able to return to their homes over a time frame of 25 years.
- Gross disparity in the implementation of the solution between the two communities. Namely, the Turkish Cypriot side would have enjoyed the benefits of an immediate implementation of their basic demands, while those of the Greek Cypriot side would have been pending and subject to Turkey's goodwill.
- The plan did not deal with the issue of the **British Sovereign Base Areas (SBAs)** in Cyprus, even though it was stipulated

that parts of the SBAs would be transferred to the authorities of the two constituent states.

- There were no guarantees that the occupied area would be returned as planned over the period of three and a half months to three and a half years from the date of the settlement. The Greek Cypriot side proposed that the occupied areas be placed under the control of the **United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP)** and not the Turkish military. However, the proposal was rejected.
- The structure of government would have led to a deadlock in decision making.

Turkish Cypriots, however, found the plan workable. *See also* GOV-ERNMENT STRUCTURE.

**ANTIPHONITIS CHURCH.** A church situated in the north of Cyprus, in the district of **Kyrenia**. It derives its name from the Greek for *Christ who responds*. Erected in the 12th century by a monk in a style not commonly found in Cyprus, it was once part of a monastery. In the 15th century, further works were carried out whereby the church acquired a barrel vaulted narthex and arcade. The stone balustrade between the arches and the wood and clay roof of its arcade have not survived. Eight circular columns arranged in an irregular octagon support the dome. Four columns are built into the walls while the remainder is freestanding.

Some frescoes remain in the church, including the 15th-century one in the center circle of the dome featuring Christ Pantokrator preparing to ascend the throne before the Virgin Mary and John the Baptist. The remains of the 12th-century frescoes of the Virgin Mary and the Child, St. Anthony, St. Paul, and the Archangels Gabriel and Michael are also still visible. Many frescoes are missing or have been destroyed. After 1974, Antiphonitis church was looted twice; thieves were successful on their first attempt and literally cut frescoes from the walls, but a later attempt caused a section of the wall to crumble, thus destroying the valuable artwork. Looting of churches in the occupied North is estimated to have resulted in some 20,000 icons and dozens of frescoes being sold internationally. The problem was brought to the fore by a Dutch art dealer, Michel Van Rijn, in

### 14 • APHRODITE

1998. He implicated a former associate, Aydin Dikman, in whose possession authorities later found more than US\$40 million worth of mosaics, icons, and frescoes. Dikman's collection also included four frescoes that were misappropriated from Antiphonitis church in 1976 (the Last Judgment) and 1979 (the Tree of Jesse). Following the successful legal action of the Greek Orthodox **Church of Cyprus**, the four frescoes were returned to **Greek Cypriots** in 1997.

**APHRODITE.** The Greek goddess of love and fertility. According to legend, Aphrodite emerged from the sea near Aphrodite's Rock (*Petra tou Romiou*, and the name *Aphrodite* has long been thought to mean "foam born"; *aphros* in Greek means foam).

Aphrodite was also known as the Paphian Wanassa (lady) and played a central role in the religious life of the island. A **sanctuary**, built (1500 BC) in her honor at Palea **Paphos**, became the center of her cult. Amphoras and ceremonial bowls found in the sanctuary depict erotic scenes from the sacred gardens (*Yeroskipos*) that once surrounded the temple. It is believed that ritual prostitution was practiced in the area surrounding the temple, and young women would sacrifice their virginity to a stranger as a form of worship to the goddess.

The three-day spring flower festival *anthistiria* is reminiscent of the spring festivals honoring Aphrodite and Adonis. *See also* BATHS OF APHRODITE; SANCTUARY OF APHRODITE.

**APOSTOLOS ANDREAS MONASTERY.** A monastery situated south of Cape Apostolos Andreas (Turkish: Cape Zafer) on the **Karpas Peninsula.** It is dedicated to the first of the apostles to be called to ministry by Christ, St. Andrew, or the Apostle Andreas. The saint is believed to have made a stopover here, on his return to Palestine from his last mission.

It is a place of pilgrimage for the Greek Orthodox **Church of Cyprus**. Once known as "the Lourdes of Cyprus," the monastery was looked after by groups of volunteers, both clerics and laity. According to folklore, in 1895 prayers of a woman named Maria Georgiou, who had lost her son 17 years earlier, were answered in a dream that told her to journey out from her home in Cilicia to the Apostolos Andreas shrine. On the boat, Maria confided in her fellow

passengers, and one in particular took great interest in her tale. This young traveling dervish inquired how she would recognize her son if she found him, and she told him of birthmarks on her son's shoulder and chest. The young man is said to have thrown off his cloak to reveal those birthmarks. From that moment, the shrine became a popular sanctuary.

The central church is surrounded by old monastery buildings and pilgrims' accommodations. The modern church steps lead down to a square, vaulted chapel, and an old wharf. The three baptismal basins are sustained by a holy spring that is said to have been revealed by the steps of St. Andrew and had restored eyesight to the captain of his ship.

**ARAB RAIDS.** Between the seventh and tenth centuries AD, Cyprus was subject to a number of destructive Arab raids, many of which were extremely brutal. The Arabs did not seek to conquer Cyprus and were satisfied with the loot and prisoners their raids yielded. Particularly severe raids were carried out in 632 (Abu Bakr), 647–649 (Mu'awiya), 653 (Mu'awiya), 726, 743, 747, 772–773, 790, and 806 (Harun-ar-Rashid).

During this period, there was a large number of people from the coastal regions to the interior of the island. The Arab raids led to the erection of the three castles of the Kyrenia Range, **St. Hilarion**, **Kantara**, and **Buffavento**, intended as a defense against the raiders.

**ARCHBISHOP'S PALACE.** The Archbishop's Palace is the headquarters of the Greek Orthodox **Church of Cyprus** and the official residence of the archbishop of Cyprus. Located in old **Nicosia**, within the **Venetian Walls**, the palace also houses the **Byzantine Museum** and a large number of icons, manuscripts, and other treasures.

Built between 1956 and 1960, the palace is neo-Byzantine in style. The walls are constructed from hewn limestone blocks. Between 1976 and 1987, the palace underwent some changes. The **Arch-bishop Makarios III** Foundation was established, which currently houses the Art Gallery and the Byzantine Museum. A gigantic bronze statue of Archbishop Makarios III, cast by sculptor **Nicholas Kotza-manis**, has stood in front of the building since 1987. Recently, this statue was replaced by a much smaller version. At the other end of

## 16 • ARCHEOLOGY

the palace stands the bust of Archbishop Kyprianos, executed by the **Ottomans** in 1821.

**ARCHEOLOGY.** The remains of **Choirokoitia** date back to the Neolithic Period (8200–3900 BC) and have been listed as a UNESCO World Cultural Heritage site since 1998. Chalcolithic Age settlements (3900–2500 BC) have been unearthed in Western Cyprus.

The first city-kingdoms of **Paphos**, **Salamis**, Kition, and **Kourion** were built during the Bronze Age (2500–1050 BC) by the Achaean Greeks. The Geometric period (1050–750 BC) witnessed the emergence of **sanctuaries** dedicated to the goddess **Aphrodite**.

Over the span of 200 years (first century BC-first century AD), including the Roman reign (30 BC-AD 330), a number of devastating earthquakes shook the island, causing massive destruction. Affected cities were rebuilt, only to become ruins when new earthquakes hit Cyprus in the fourth century AD. New cities such as Constantia were built along with imposing basilicas decorated with frescoes and icons. During the **Venetian** period (1489–1571), in a display of military architecture, the **Venetian Walls** were built around **Nicosia** and Famagusta. *See also* BYZANTINE MUSEUM; CESNOLA, LUIGI PALMA DI; CHOIROKOITIA; KOURION; TOMBS OF THE KINGS.

ARMENIANS. Descendants from an Indo-European branch, who arrived in Cyprus around AD 578. There were further periods of immigration in 1136–1137, as a result of war, and also during and immediately after the Armenian Genocide of 1915–1923 in Turkey. The Armenian population in Cyprus stood at 170 in 1840s. In 1891, because of policies the British administration adopted, numbers increased to 269. By 1920, an influx of refugees fleeing from mass killings in the early 20th century drove the number to 8,000. In 1960, as many refugees returned to their homelands the number fell to 3,630. By 1985, the community had shrunk further, to 2,250. Currently, some 2,000 Armenians live in Cyprus and are concentrated mainly in Nicosia, Larnaca, and Limassol.

Armenians, along with **Maronites** and Latins, constitute one of three minorities in Cyprus. Following Independence in 1960, the three communities were constitutionally recognized as **religious**  groups. An Armenian representative is elected to the **House of Rep-resentatives** by the community. Although the representative can attend meetings, he/she does not have the right to vote but is consulted on matters that concern the community.

The Armenian community runs several organizations, including the Young Men's Association (AYMA), the Armenian General Benevolent Union (AGBU), and the cultural association HAMAZKAYIN. Armenian political parties include the Tashnak Party, Ramkava Party, Hunchakian Party, and Shahoumian of **Progressive Party of the Working People (AKEL)**. The community also publishes its own Armenian-language newspapers, namely *Keghart, Artsakank*, and *Azad Tsain*. The **Melkonian Educational Institute** was established in 1926 and used to play an important role in the cultural, educational, and athletic life of Armenian Cypriots until very recently. It closed in 2005 despite intensive efforts by the community to keep it open.

**ARTEMION/ARTEMINUS.** A Hellenist Jew of the Diaspora, Artemion is believed to have led the Jewish revolt of AD 115–117, which is the only recorded example of a **military** engagement in Roman Cyprus (*see* VENETIAN RULE). The Cypriot rebellion formed part of a greater Jewish uprising, which encompassed Libya, Cyrenaica, Egypt, and Mesopotamia. As few Roman troops were stationed in Cyprus, Artemion was able to capture a sizeable portion of the island relatively unchallenged. The northeastern part of the island was severely affected, and the towns of **Salamis** and Soloi were utterly devastated by Artemion's assault.

To suppress the uprising and further losses, Emperor Trajan sent reinforcements to the island. Once victorious, the Romans expelled many Jews from Cyprus, but communities could still be found living in more remote towns and villages. Although the severity of the measures imposed on Jews is unknown, it is believed that Trajan decreed that no Jew should approach the island, even if he became shipwrecked on Cypriot shores.

ASSYRIAN RULE (709–660 BC). Cyprus, under Assyrian rule, was principally a strategically placed means of defense. The island constituted a buffer and offered protection to the western borders of the Assyrian Empire along the coast of Syria and southern Asia Minor. Cypriot kings continued to act autonomously in domestic affairs, and Assyrian rule had little influence on the island.

The island flourished during this period of virtual **independence** characterized by bronze, iron, and ivory work; much epic poetry was also composed during this time, notably the lost poem *Cypria*. In 709 BC, Sargon II erected a stele in Kition, in recognition of the seven Cypriot kings who had paid him homage. The stele of Sargon II can now be found in the Berlin Museum.

The Assyrian Empire broke up at the end of the seventh century BC. The balance of power changed, and the Saite dynasty of Egypt became the predominant power in the eastern **Mediterranean**.

- ATATÜRK SQUARE. This square is located in the "Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC)" area of Nicosia and dates back to the Middle Ages. The square was known as Konak Square and then as Sarayönü Square before becoming Atatürk Square. A gray granite Venetian column, which was initially transported from the ruins of Salamis to the courtyard of the Sarayönü Mosque, dominates the square. It was placed in its present position in 1915. The British replaced the missing Venetian Lion with a copper globe. The base of the column is decorated with coats of arms of Venetian nobles. Facing the north of the square stands a fountain built during Ottoman rule.
- ATTILA, OPERATION. See COUP D'ETAT; GREEN LINE; INVA-SION.
- AVEROFF, TOSITSA EVANGELOS (1910–1990). Averoff was elected as a member of Parliament for Ioannina in 1956. Between 1956 and 1963, he held successive posts as minister of supply, minister of national economy and commerce, and finally as foreign minister. Born in Trikala (Thessaly, Greece), Averoff studied law and economics at the University of Lausanne in Switzerland. During World War II, he was an active member of the resistance movement. He was captured in Italy and imprisoned but escaped in 1943 and continued fighting until the end of the war. His opposition to the Greek dictatorship of 1967–1974 resulted in two prison terms.

Regarding Cyprus, Averoff was instrumental in the development of the 1959 **London-Zurich Agreements**, which led to the creation of the **Republic of Cyprus** in 1960. His two-volume work in Greek, entitled *A History of Missed Opportunities*, was published in 1981. *See also* GREECE.

**AYIA NAPA.** The town of Ayia Napa is located in the **Famagusta** district on the southeastern coast of the island. This area of the island is also known as *Kokkinochoria*, which, in English, means *red villages*, a name derived from the fertile red soil that characterizes the area.

In ancient times, thick forest covered the area, and its natural springs attracted many people from the surrounding area. The archaic word *nape/napa* means wooded valley, and according to local folk-lore, sometime in the 11th century, a hunter stumbled upon a cave that concealed an icon of the Virgin Mary, probably hidden there away from the iconoclasts in the seventh or eighth centuries. Thus the icon became known as the icon of *Ayia Napa* (in English *Our Lady of the Forests*).

When the discovery became known in the area, the villagers turned the cave into a shrine for Orthodox Christian pilgrims. At some point, probably in the 14th century, a church was built around the cave, partly cut into the rock underground. It was developed further in the 16th century when the island was under **Venetian rule**, and it stands today protected by a high wall. Local folklore says that the buildings were renovated and extended by a woman from Famagusta. She is also said to have planted the 600-year-old sycamore tree that graces the courtyard.

The church was used first as a convent and then as a monastery, but the surrounding area was otherwise uninhabited until around 1790, when a group of men from Thessaloniki in **Greece** who had fled from an outbreak of cholera arrived in the area. Only two of the group survived the disease, a father and son. The son married a local girl from Panayia. They did not settle in the girl's village because of hostilities between the **Ottomans** and locals, deciding instead to settle outside the walls of the church. They became the first inhabitants of the village of Ayia Napa.

The village thrived and its population grew. By 1758, the monastery had ceased its function and only continued as a parish church. A new church was completed in 1990, although the old shrine is opened on special occasions.

Nowadays, Ayia Napa is well known as a **tourist** resort not dissimilar to Ibiza. The long golden sandy beaches attract hordes of tourists in the summer season (April–October). Ayia Napa is a quiet fishing village during the winter months, but has earned itself a reputation as a sun, sea, and sex destination in the summer. Nightlife centers around the square and the monastery; discos, bars, and restaurants compete vociferously for trade. *See also* CHURCH OF CYPRUS.

# – B –

**BANKING**. The Cypriot banking system is based on the **British** model and comprises four banks, which are listed on the Cyprus Stock Exchange, namely, the Bank of Cyprus, Hellenic Bank, Marfin Popular Bank, and Universal Savings Bank (formerly Universal Bank). Nine foreign banks have subsidiaries on the island. In addition, there are branches of eight **European Union (EU)** banks and 16 non-EU banks.

The Central Bank of Cyprus is the competent authority entrusted with licensing and supervising banks operating on the island. The bank's aims of fostering economic growth and stability and safeguarding public confidence are achieved through effective regulatory and supervisory measures that ensure stability of the financial system. Supervisory activities are done on a consolidated basis; that is, they include all the activities of the bank in question as well as those of its subsidiaries.

In this regard, the Central Bank of Cyprus complies with the Basel Committee's recommendations on banking supervision and directives on banking regulation issued by the EU. It also monitors new developments and frequently reviews its prudential functions to take account of these developments and changing circumstances.

**BARNABAS, SAINT.** The founder of the Greek Orthodox **Church of Cyprus**, Barnabas was the child of Hellenized Jewish parents, who were members of the priestly tribe of Levi (who had the duty of helping in the services of the Temple). He is thought to have made his first missionary journey to Cyprus in AD 45–46 and was accompanied by St. Mark and the Apostle Paul. Having arrived in **Salamis**, they continued to **Paphos**, where they convinced the Roman governor, Sergius Paulus, to convert to Christianity. Sergius Paulus thus became the first Christian leader in the world.

On his second visit to the island, St. Barnabas was martyred (his body was found circa 488 with his own handwritten copy of Matthew's Gospel over his heart). In 488, Emperor **Zeno** proclaimed the church autocephalous and *isotimos*, and to this day its archbishops retain special privileges.

- **BATHS OF APHRODITE.** A pool, sheltered within a natural grotto on the **Akamas** peninsula and close to **Polis Chrysochous.** According to legend, **Aphrodite** herself bathed there and the Baths of Aphrodite are thus believed to have enhanced the fertility of women who bathed in the waters. Nowadays, however, no bathing is allowed in the pool.
- **BATTLE OF LEPANTO.** A naval battle that took place on 7 October 1571 between the forces of the Holy League and the **Ottomans.** In 1570, Ottoman Sultan Selim II attacked the **Venetian** island of Cyprus in an attempt to drive the Venetians from the eastern **Mediterranean**. His forces captured **Nicosia** on 9 September 1570 and began to advance across the Mediterranean, toward the Adriatic Sea. On 25 May 1571, the Venetians allied their forces with Pope Pius V and Philip II of Spain and formed the Holy League. Don John of Austria, Philip's half brother, was dispatched to command the allied troops. Other members of the alliance included the Republic of Genoa, Duchy of Savoy, and Knights of Malta.

By the time the forces of the Holy League gathered at Messina, Sicily, the Ottoman Turks had reached the Adriatic. The Ottoman fleet, under the command of the governor of Alexandria, Muhammad Saulak, and governor of Algiers, Uluj Ali, lay in the Gulf of Patra, near Lepanto. The Holy League alliance set sail for Corfu on 15 September 1571. The allies overwhelmed the Ottoman fleet and captured 117 galleys and thousands of men. The victory was short lived, as Venice surrendered Cyprus to the Turks in 1573.

#### 22 • BAYRAKTAR MOSQUE

**BAYRAKTAR MOSQUE.** The only mosque in **Nicosia** (governmentcontrolled area) and built by the **Ottoman** governor Hasan Sadik Ağa on the spot of resting place of an Ottoman army's flagman. The flagman had scaled the **Venetian Walls** surrounding Nicosia's old town on 9 September 1570 and hoisted the **flag** of the Ottoman Empire on the Kostanza Bastion. He was killed by those defending the city and hailed a martyr by the Ottomans, who buried him at the place he fell, Kostanza Bastion. The name of the mosque derives from the Turkish for flag.

The mosque was damaged several times during periods of unrest on the island before and after 1960. The **government** of the **Republic of Cyprus** recently funded the restoration work, and the mosque has resumed its function.

**BELLAPAIS ABBEY.** The abbey is located on a mountainside to the northeast of the town of **Kyrenia**. Dated to the **Lusignan** period, the abbey is a fine example of Gothic architecture: the church, refectory, and dormitories are gathered around a central courtyard. The Order of Premontre, a French brotherhood, inhabited of the abbey first, which at that time was known as the Abbaye de la Paix.

BIDDULPH, SIR ROBERT (1801–1864). A British member of Parliament with a distinguished army career. He served in the Crimean War of 1854–1856, the Indian Mutiny Campaign of 1857–1859, and the China War of 1860. He succeeded Sir Garnet Wolseley in 1879 to become the second governor/high commissioner of Cyprus, a post he held until 1886.

During this period, the British administration faced many political and administrative difficulties that had been inherited from the previous **Ottoman** rule. Biddulph had to deal with issues such as taxation, administrative accounts, law and order, health, education, **language**, and many others. In spite of his efforts to fairly manage the island, many of these problems remained unresolved.

**Economically**, very little was done to improve the quality of life of the peasantry, who at the time constituted the majority of the island's population. The **agricultural** sector remained heavily underdeveloped, with inadequate provision for irrigation and planting. The tithe (a tax on produce and stock) remained unchanged. Few improvements were made legislatively because of the autocratic rule of the high commissioner. In 1882, the existing form of administration was modified and the first **constitution** was established by the Council, but though some form of representative **government** was allowed, no majority rule was provided, and the governor could override decisions by decree.

- BLAIR, TONY (1953–). Prime minister of Great Britain from 1997 to 2007. In 1999, Blair and United States (US) President Bill Clinton, persuaded by the United Nations (UN) to exert their influence in Ankara over Cyprus, responded with a request that the UN put together the main elements of a settlement, which the US and Great Britain could persuade Turkey to accept. This reaction indicated that the two governments were prepared to make substantial efforts to find a solution to the Cyprus problem. Tony Blair gave his support to the Annan Plan for a Cyprus solution.
- **BOUSTRONIOS, GEORGIOS (15th century).** A chronicler during **Lusignan** rule, Boustronios was a companion to James II before and after he was crowned. His chronicle, entitled "A Setting Forth of the Chronicle of Cyprus Beginning with the Year 1456 after Christ," is considered to be important because of his close ties to the king. Boustronios wrote in the Cypriot dialect of the time, and the chronicle vividly describes people and events up to the year 1501.
- **BOUTROS-GHALI, BOUTROS (1922– ).** The sixth secretarygeneral of the **United Nations (UN)**. Boutros Boutros-Ghali succeeded **Javier Perez de Cuellar** and, contrary to the usual practice, served only one term as opposed to two.

In 1992, Boutros-Ghali proposed a **Set of Ideas** to introduce a settlement to the **Cyprus problem** but failed to resolve the impasse. His second, more modest, initiative of **confidence-building measures** also faced hurdles.

In his report to the Security Council in March 1994, Boutros-Ghali asserted that confidence-building measures were intended to facilitate the political process toward an overall settlement; the idea of reopening the fenced area of **Varosha** and of **Nicosia** International Airport under UN administration, he stated, had been accepted in principle by both parties along with the readiness to work out the modalities for their implementation.

However, the positive expectations of the secretary-general were not to be realized in further talks between the two communities. **Turkey** and the **Turkish Cypriots** rejected the substance of a federal solution as defined in UN resolutions, and the Cyprus **government** side viewed the initiatives as not conducive to a partnership solution. As was stated in the November 1994 UN Communications, "further discussion of the confidence-building measures became meaningless. The time had come to hold an international conference as a new method of promoting a solution."

**BRITISH LANDING.** On 4 July 1878, exactly a month after **Turkey** transferred the administration of Cyprus to the **British** Crown, Vice Admiral Lord John Hay, the island's temporary administrator, sailed into the bay of **Larnaca**. After being briefed by the British consul, Charles Watkins, Captain Harry Rawson was sent onshore on 8 and 9 July to assess the situation. Following his second visit ashore, he reported that in general the population presented no danger but described the mainly Turkish population of **Nicosia** as "fanatical men devoted to their **religion** and faithful to their caliph." Thus, Lord Hay was prepared to encounter resistance in Nicosia.

However, the British, entered Nicosia through **Famagusta Gate** at 11.30 AM on 12 July 1878, completely unchallenged. Following Friday prayer at the *Saray* (Turkish Governor's residence), the firman was read, and Hay became the official administrator of Cyprus.

Hay then addressed the crowd and explained that, following an agreement made between the **Ottoman** Empire and **Great Britain**, he had been ordered by the British government to occupy the island of Cyprus in the name of Queen Victoria. He went on to promise justice, progress, and equality to all the inhabitants. The vast majority of the assembled crowd would not have understood Hay's speech, spoken in English. Even so, when Hay uttered "Queen Victoria" the crowd cheered. At 5 PM, Captain Rawson hoisted the Union Jack up the flagpole. To great applause, Hay then announced that Queen Victoria now reigned over the island of Cyprus.

**Sir Garnet Wolseley**, the island's first governor, arrived on 22 July, and his arrival marked the beginning of 82 years of **British rule** in Cyprus.

**BRITISH RULE.** At the 1878 Berlin Congress, the administration of Cyprus was transferred from the **Ottoman** Empire to **Great Britain** on the proviso that Britain would protect the Ottoman Empire against any future Russian aggression. Although Cyprus was under British administration, it continued to be an Ottoman territory. The Treaty of **Lausanne** clarified the status of Cyprus when the newly formed Republic of **Turkey** ceded all rights to the island to Great Britain. In 1925, Great Britain officially declared Cyprus to be a Crown colony.

Demands for *enosis* (union with **Greece**) that had been gathering momentum since the beginning of the 19th century, and which were unlikely under the Ottoman Rule, only grew stronger when the British took over the administration of the island. Though viewed as a possibility by Greek Cypriots, *enosis* appeared to be against British interests. Cyprus was a vital British strategic base in the Eastern **Mediterranean**. During **World War II**, Cypriots fought alongside Britain, hoping to be granted *enosis*, but their hopes were not realized because Britain was not prepared to forgo the strategic advantages of the island. Anticolonial feeling reached the boiling point between 1955 and 1959, when the **National Organization of Cypriot Fighters (EOKA)** instigated an anticolonial struggle, seeking not **independence**, but *enosis*.

The British responded by closing down schools, establishing curfews, and practicing detention without trial. Governor Sir Richmond Palmer imposed bans on any trade unions and associations, and Turkey was seen to be encouraged to demand more rights for **Turkish Cypriots**. In 1957, the **Turkish Resistance Organization** (**TMT**) formed, which fought EOKA and instead of *enosis* demanded *taksim* (partition of the island and unification of its Turkish Cypriotpopulated territory with Turkey).

Talks began in 1958 and centered on the idea of independence rather than *enosis* or *taksim*. In 1960, Cyprus became independent.

BRITISH SOVEREIGN BASE AREAS (SBAs). Great Britain maintains two sovereign base areas in Cyprus, RAF Akrotiri and

#### 26 • BUFFAVENTO CASTLE

**Dhekelia**, encompassing 3 percent of the land area of Cyprus or a total of 158 square kilometers (76 at Akrotiri and 81 at Dhekelia). British and Cypriot citizens own some 60 percent of the land and the remainder belongs to the British Ministry of Defense or the Crown. Akrotiri is located on a peninsula on the southwestern coast of the island, close to **Limassol**. It is in an area called the Western Sovereign Base Area (WSBA), which includes **Episkopi** garrison. Dhekelia is located in the southeast, near **Larnaca**, and is in the Eastern Sovereign Base Area (ESBA), which encompasses Ayios Nikolaos.

In 1960, Cyprus was granted **independence** from the **British** Empire. Great Britain wished to retain military bases on the island, and as a result of the Treaty of Establishment, which was signed in 1960, it was awarded the areas of Dhekelia and Akrotiri. Between 1960 and 1964, following Cypriot independence, the British government paid rent to the **Republic of Cyprus** for use of the SBAs. The intercommunal conflict between **Greek Cypriots** and **Turkish Cypriots** led to the cessation of rent payments from Great Britain to the Republic of Cyprus. Britain asserted that it could not be sure that the money would benefit both communities equally. The Republic of Cyprus is still claiming rent from the British government for the use of the SBAs for the period from 1964 to date.

**BUFFAVENTO CASTLE.** Buffavento Castle is located in **Kyrenia** district. The castle stands in an exposed position 950 meters above sea level. It is the central **Kyrenia Range** castle, with **St. Hilarion Castle** to the west and **Kantara Castle** to the east.

All three castles were built between the seventh and tenth centuries to guard the mountain passage and to defend against **Arab raids**. Both of the other castles are visible from Buffavento, which was used to pass messages between them. In the 14th century, it served as a prison.

**BULLA CYPRIA.** A papal document of 3 July 1260, by which Pope Alexander IV decreed that the Latin Church is the official **Church of Cyprus**. The Latin archbishop became the leader of both Latin and Orthodox bishops and demanded that all Orthodox clerics pledge their obedience to the Roman Catholic Church. The tithes, from which no one was exempt, also went to the Latin Church. The majority of the island's population followed the autocephalous Orthodox Church, but it had long been the policy of the Frankish rulers to effect the subordination of the Orthodox Church to the church of the ruling elite. They achieved this control through various methods of oppression such as giving Roman Catholic Sees the rights to property from Orthodox Bishoprics.

Under Bulla Cypria the number of Orthodox Sees was limited to four. The Orthodox Sees, along with a Latin See, were appointed to four villages (**Lefkara**, Arsinoe, Carpasia, and Soli). The Latin archbishop was the sole metropolitan, and all bishops whether Latin or Orthodox were under his jurisdiction. Potential Orthodox bishops had to be approved by a Latin bishop prior to election or consecration.

The majority of the population continued to remain faithful to their Orthodox roots and supported the Orthodox clergy. Isolated monasteries, hidden in the mountains, thrived.

- **BUSH, GEORGE H. W. (1924– ).** President of the **United States** (**US**) from 1988 to 1992. On 2 August 1991, Bush announced that the prime minister of **Greece** and the president of **Turkey** had informed him that their countries had agreed to attend a meeting concerning Cyprus. However, on 12 September 1991, during a meeting in Paris with the prime minister of Greece, **Constantine Mitsotakis**, the Turkish prime minister, Mesut Yilmaz, did not appear to share the eagerness to search for a solution to the **Cyprus problem**.
- **BUSH, GEORGE W. (1946– ).** President of the **United States** from 2000 to 2008. **United Nations (UN)** Secretary-General **Kofi Annan** submitted a plan for a Cyprus settlement to the **Greek Cypriot** and **Turkish Cypriot** leaders on 11 November 2002. George W. Bush stressed that the plan was of special significance. In a letter, which accompanied his congressional bimonthly report dated 1 October–30 November 2002, Bush stated that the US remained dedicated to UN efforts to find a fair and lasting settlement to the **Cyprus problem**.
- **BUYUK HAMMAM.** Buyuk Hammam (The Grand Baths) dates back to the **Lusignan period** (1192–1481). The original name of the building was St. George of the Latins. The building is erected on the ruins of

### 28 • BYZANTINE MUSEUM

an old Latin church and features stone walls and a Gothic style arched entrance. An interesting feature of the building is that it is two to three meters below road level. The baths still function today.

**BYZANTINE MUSEUM.** The Byzantine Museum, housed in the **Archbishop's Palace** in **Nicosia**, is home to the largest collection of the island's Byzantine art work. The core collection consists of 48 icons originating from Cypriot churches and from the synodic Church of the Virgin Faneromeni, which was initially designated to house the Pancyprian Byzantine Museum. The Byzantine Museum also displays some of the most important icons that were saved and preserved from their original locations in the churches in the **"Turk-ish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC)"**-administered part. The collection includes remains of frescoes and mosaics, such as the seven fragments of a sixth-century mosaic from the apse of the Virgin Kanakaria in Lithrangomi and 36 fragments of frescoes from the Church of Christ **Antiphonitis**.

**BYZANTINE RULE.** Following the death of Theodosius the Great in AD 395, the Roman Empire was divided into eastern and western parts. Cyprus fell under the rule of the former, known as Byzantium. The Christian faith thus became more widespread across the island. In 476, however, Germanic tribes defeated the western part of the Roman Empire. In the seventh century, the Arabs, under Caliph Abdolmalik, and the Byzantine ruler, Justinian II, came to an agreement whereby they jointly ruled the island for nearly 300 years. Their joint rule, however, was accompanied by constant warfare between the two sides. During this time, the **Church of Cyprus** became autocephalous, and icon worshipping was reinstated at the end of the fifth century. The **Arabs** launched a series of unsuccessful attacks to gain full control of the island, reportedly in part as a response to a breach of treaty by either the Cypriots or the Romans.

In 965, the Byzantines managed to exert full control over the island again. However, the last Byzantine ruler of Cyprus, **Isaac Comnenus**, was defeated by **Richard the Lionheart** in 1192 and died in prison a few years later. Richard sold the island to the Knights Templar, but in the end, the Franks came to replace them as the rulers

of Cyprus. In 1196, the Latin Church was established on the island. The Frankish period had thus begun in Cyprus and the Byzantine Era had come to an end.

# – C –

- **CALLAGHAN, JAMES (1912–2005).** Prime minister of **Great Brit**ain from 1976 to 1979. The Callaghan government assumed a neutral stance and adopted the policy of exerting pressure on **Turkey**. During the Geneva negotiations, Great Britain insisted on using the 1960 **Constitution** of **Cyprus** as a starting point, which antagonized the Turkish delegates. The Callaghan government eventually supported the **United States** policy on Cyprus. During the Turkish **invasion** in 1974, Callaghan was the **British** foreign secretary. On the lack of response to the invasion, he stated that he did not wish to subject Britain to the kind of humiliation experienced in the Suez Canal crisis of 1956.
- CARTER, JIMMY (1924–). President of the United States from 1976 to 1980. During his presidential campaign, Jimmy Carter promised American Cypriot voters a sustained push for a solution to the Cyprus problem if elected. Carter's envoy, Clark Clifford, arranged a meeting between Turkish Cypriot leader, Rauf Denktash, and President Makarios on 27 January 1977 at the United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) headquarters in Nicosia. The meeting took place in the presence of Perez de Cuellar, the United Nations secretary-general's representative. The meeting resulted in the Makarios–Denktash Guidelines, which formed a basis for the resumption of the intercommunal talks in Vienna.
- **CASSOULIDES, IOANNIS (1948– ). Government** spokesman from 1993 to 1997 and foreign minister of the **Republic of Cyprus** from 1997 to 2003. Born on 10 August 1948 in **Nicosia**, Ioannis Cassoulides studied medicine at the University of Lyon in France and later specialized in geriatric medicine in London. While in France, Cassoulides founded the Federation of Cypriot Students Union. He continued to be politically active through the center

30 • CDP

right **Democratic Rally Party** (**DISY**) and was elected to the Cypriot **parliament** in 1991 (*see* HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, REPUBLIC OF CYPRUS).

Cassoulides was a candidate in the presidential elections in 2008 and went through to the second round of voting along with the **Progressive Party of the Working People (AKEL)** leader and eventual victor, **Demetris Christofias**. Cassoulides received an impressive 47 percent of the vote, nevertheless. *See also* GOVERNMENT STRUC-TURE; PRESIDENT, REPUBLIC OF CYPRUS.

# CDP. See COMMUNAL DEMOCRACY PARTY.

- **CESNOLA, LUIGI PALMA DI** (1832–1904). An archeologist and naturalized American citizen of Italian extraction. In 1865, Cesnola accepted the position of **United States** consul to Cyprus. During his time on the island, Cesnola carried out excavations and discovered a significant number of valuable antiquities, which he sold to the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. Cesnola became director of the museum in 1879. *See also* ARCHEOLOGY.
- **CHECKPOINTS.** Crossings along the **buffer zone** or **Green Line**. The **government** of the **Republic of Cyprus** and the leaders of the de facto "**Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus** (**TRNC**)" agreed to open checkpoints for passage of people, vehicles, and goods as an encouragement for the reunification of the island. At present there are six active checkpoints:
  - Ayios Dometios Checkpoint, Nicosia, also known as Metehan in Turkish. This is the busiest checkpoint based on the number of people and vehicles, who use it to cross on a daily basis. It serves for transfer of goods, crossing of motor vehicles, cyclists, and pedestrians.
  - Ledra Palace Checkpoint. This checkpoint may only be used by pedestrians, cyclists, and diplomatic vehicles.
  - Ledra Street checkpoint. This pedestrian crossing is in Nicosia, and it is the most recent checkpoint to be opened to the public.
  - Black Knight. This checkpoint is also known as Ayios Nikolaos, Strovilia, and Akyar, and along with Pergamos is one of two

checkpoints that lie within the British Eastern Sovereign Base Area (*see* BRITISH SOVEREIGN BASE AREAS).

- *Pergamos.* This crossing is also known as *Beyarmudu* and **Dhekelia** and lies within the British Eastern Sovereign Base Area.
- Zodhia. The Zodhia crossing point is also known as Astromeritis, Güzelyurt, Morfou, Morfu, Morpho, or Omorfo.

**CHOIROKITIA.** The ruins of this Neolithic settlement are situated 32 kilometers from **Larnaca** and 48 kilometers south of **Nicosia**. Cypriot archeologist Porphyrios Dikaios discovered the ruins in 1934. The importance of this prehistoric find for the Eastern Mediterranean and the world was formally acknowledged by UNESCO in 1998, when the site was added to its World Heritage Site list.

The settlement dates back to 7000 BC and is believed to have been inhabited from 7000 until 4000 BC. Circular dwellings were built upon firm stone foundations, and the walls were constructed of mud or sun-baked mud bricks. The dwellings were arranged in groups, usually one large circular building and two smaller ones, that may have constituted rooms of the same house. An interior pillar, found in some houses, may have supported a wooden floor. Elements indicative of a Neolithic settlement have been unearthed during excavations of the site. These include hearths, wells, and tools. The inhabitants of Choirokoitia kept sheep, goats, and pigs. The dead were buried, in crouching positions, beneath the floor inside the house and provision was made for offerings. *See also* ARCHEOLOGY.

CHRISTOFIAS, DEMETRIS (1946–). President of the Republic of Cyprus elected in February 2008, former president of the House of Representatives and former leader of the Progressive Party of the Working People (AKEL). Born in the village of Kato Dhikomo, Kyrenia District, Christofias was politically active from a young age. At 14, he joined the Pancyprian United Student Organisation (PEOM), and at 18 he became a member of AKEL's United Democratic Youth Organization (EDON).

After completing his military service, he worked for three years as a bookkeeper. During that period, he was elected secretary of Achilleas, the Dhikomo cultural and athletic club, secretary of the Dhikomo branch of EDON, and deputy secretary of the Kato-Dhikomo branch of AKEL. In 1969, he was elected member of the central council of EDON. Christofias went on to study at the Institute of Social Sciences and the Academy of Social Sciences in Moscow from 1969 until 1974, where he earned a Ph.D. in history.

After working his way up in EDON, first holding the position of Central Organizing Secretary and then General Secretary, Christofias became a member of the **Nicosia-Kyrenia** District Committee of AKEL in 1976. Christofias progressed rapidly through the party ranks. An elected member of the Central Committee of the party in 1982, he earned full membership in the Political Bureau of the Central Committee in November 1986. On 22 April 1988, Christofias became general secretary of the Central Committee of the party.

He was elected Member of the **House of Representatives** for the first time in May 1991 and was reelected in May 1996, May 2001, and May 2006. On 7 June 2001 Christofias was elected president of the House of Representatives and on 24 February 2008 he was elected president of the Republic of Cyprus for a five-year term of office. *See also* GOVERNMENT STRUCTURE.

- **CHURCH OF CYPRUS.** The Greek Orthodox Church of Cyprus is one of 14, and one of the oldest autocephalous Eastern Orthodox churches. The Eastern Orthodox churches are each governed by their own patriarch but all agree on the issues of doctrine. The highest governing body of the Autocephalous Church of Cyprus is the Holy Synod, made up of the archbishop of Cyprus; the bishops of Kition, Kyrenia, Limassol, Morphou, and Paphos; the suffragan bishops of Salamis, Trimithous, and Arsinoe; and the bishop of Kykkos. *See also* EASTER; RELIGION.
- CLERIDES, GLAFKOS (1919–). President of the Republic of Cyprus between 1993 and 2003. Born in Nicosia, Clerides studied law at King's College, London, and went on to practice law on his return to Cyprus. During World War II, he served with the British Royal Air Force. His plane was shot down over Germany in 1942, and he was captured and spent the remainder of the war as a prisoner of war (POW). Clerides was a member of the National Organization

of Cypriot Fighters (EOKA). During the hostilities of 1955–1959 he defended many EOKA fighters who had been captured by the British.

Clerides was present at the 1959 London Conference (*see* LON-DON-ZURICH AGREEMENTS) and was appointed minister of justice for the transition from colonial administration to full **independence** in 1960. Following his election to the **House of Representatives** in July 1960, Clerides was subsequently elected as the first speaker of the House, a position he held until July 1976. In the first **presidential** elections, Clerides supported the victor, **Archbishop Makarios III**, as opposed to the alternative candidate, his father, Ioannis Clerides. Makarios was forced to flee on 16 July 1974 following the Greek **military** junta-backed **coup d'état**. On 23 July 1974, Clerides temporarily assumed the position of acting president of the **Republic**, until the return of Makarios on 7 December 1974, when he relinquished the post. In 1976, Clerides founded the conservative **Democratic Rally (DISY)** party.

During the Clerides presidency, Cyprus continued to improve its **economy**. At the time of **European Union** accession in 2004, a year after Clerides had left office, Cyprus was the wealthiest of the 10 new members of the bloc. In January 1997, Cyprus placed an order for the Russian-made S300 surface-to-air, antiaircraft missile system as a means of strengthening the island's air defenses. However, on 30 December 1998, Clerides decided not to deploy the S300 defense system on the island. He was defeated in 2003 elections by **Tassos Papadopoulos**.

CLINTON, BILL (1946–). President of the United States (US) from 1992 to 2000. Clinton showed an active interest in finding a solution to the Cyprus problem. He appointed Richard Holbrook as a special envoy to Cyprus to help find a Cyprus settlement. In 1999 Alvaro de Soto became the chief United Nations (UN) negotiator, and the UN began to exert pressure on the United States and Great Britain to exercise influence in Ankara. In response, British Prime Minister Tony Blair and Clinton requested that the UN put together a settlement that could be presented to Turkey.

CLP. See COMMUNAL LIBERATION PARTY.

COMMUNAL DEMOCRACY PARTY (CDP)/TOPLUMCU DE-MOKRASI PARTISI (TDP). A social democratic party of the de facto "Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC)." The party was created in 2007 and constitutes a merger between the Peace and Democracy Movement (PDM) and the Communal Liberation Party (CLP).

COMMUNAL LIBERATION PARTY (CLP)/TOPLUMCU KUR-TULUS PARTISI (TKP). The TKP is a social democratic party established in 1976. Between 1987 and 2001, it was led by Mustafa Akinci, who, as mayor of the Turkish Cypriot municipality in Nicosia, worked with Mayor Lellos Demetriades to implement the Nicosia Master Plan.

In the early 1980s, the TKP gained solid ground in the local elections, attracting 28.5 percent of the votes and for a short while forming the largest opposition party. Since then, however, the party's electoral support has remained steady at 13–15 percent. In 1998, the TKP entered the coalition administration in cooperation with the right-wing **National Unity Party** (**NUP**), which, however, came to an abrupt end in 2001.

In December 2003, the TKP attempted the elections by a newly formed movement **Peace and Democracy Movement (BDH)**, led by Mustafa Akinci himself. The aim of the new movement was to encompass both the traditional supporters of the TKP and those beyond by uniting **political parties**, trade unions, and representatives of the civil service. That attempt, however, was unsuccessful, and the newly formed party, BDH, won even fewer votes than TKP had in the 1998 elections.

Consequently, after the elections of 2003 the TKP (under the leadership of Huseyin Angolemni) split away from the BDH, which formed an independent political party led by Akinci. In 2005, for the first time since its foundation, the TKP was excluded from the **Turk-ish Cypriot** "Assembly" (*see* "HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES," TURKISH-ADMINISTERED AREA), winning no seats in the elections. The BDH gained 5.5 percent of the votes and a single seat in the legislature. He gained 6.87 percent (two seats) of the votes in the 2009 elections.

# **COMMUNIST PARTY OF CYPRUS.** *See* PROGESSIVE PARTY OF THE WORKING PEOPLE (AKEL).

**COMNENOS, ISAAC (1155–1195/1196).** Imperial governor of Tarsus and great-nephew of Emperor Manuel I. He arrived in Cyprus in 1184 in possession of forged imperial letters that declared him to be *Katapan*. Once established, Comnenos declared himself to be emperor or "despot" of Cyprus. Cyprus was liberated from his sevenyear tyrannical rule by **Richard the Lionheart** as he was on his way eastward to take part in the Third Crusade. Isaac was married to a sister of William the Good, King of Sicily.

**CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURES.** Measures proposed in 1993 by UN Secretary-General **Boutros Ghali** to facilitate the political process toward an overall settlement of the **Cyprus problem**. They included the reopening of **Nicosia** International Airport and the fenced area of **Varosha**.

The experts' reports on fieldwork in Cyprus in October and November 1993 on these measures were submitted to the secretarygeneral on 15 December. It was believed that the package would yield "significant **economic** benefits" to both **Greek** and **Turkish Cypriots**.

Nevertheless, the package of confidence-building measures that Secretary-General Boutros Ghali presented to the two parties to the Cyprus situation was not agreed upon. In a 4 April report (S/1994/380), he stated that the Turkish Cypriot side believed that the package favored the Greek Cypriot side. The Greek Cypriots (the **government** of Cyprus), however, had accepted the package despite some reservations.

The Security Council unanimously adopted resolution 902 (1994). This move reaffirmed that the measures offered significant benefits to the island's communities and could encourage the political search for an overall settlement. However, the measures were never implemented.

**CONSTITUTION.** The 1960 Constitution stipulated the formation of a **government** divided into executive, legislative, and judicial

## 36 • CONSTITUTION

branches. According to the constitution, the government of the **Re-public of Cyprus** was to be set up as follows:

- Executive power: according to the constitution, the Republic should have a **Greek Cypriot** president and a **Turkish Cypriot** vice president, who would be elected to office by their respective communities. Furthermore, it would be the responsibility of the **president** to appoint seven Greek Cypriot ministers and of the vice president to appoint three Turkish Cypriot ministers.
- Legislative function would be served by the **House of Repre**sentatives, which consisted of 50 representatives, 70 percent (35) elected by the Greek Cypriot community and 30 percent (15) by the Turkish Cypriot community. Members were to be elected from separate communal registers for five-year terms.
- The speaker of the House was to be a Greek Cypriot and its vice speaker, a Turkish Cypriot.
- Judicial bodies were composed of the Supreme Court, the Assize Court, the District Courts, the **Military** Court, the Rent Control Courts, the Industrial Disputes Court, and the Family Courts. According to the **London-Zurich Agreements**, the judicial body comprised the Supreme Constitutional Court, the High Court of Justice, District and Assize Courts, and Communal Courts.

Members of the **Armenian**, **Maronite**, and Roman Catholic communities were required to join either the Greek Cypriot or Turkish Cypriot community for voting purposes. In this respect, they all chose to be treated as Greek Cypriots. Under the constitution, Greek and Turkish were identified as the official **languages** of the Republic of Cyprus.

According to the 1960 census, Greek Cypriots comprised 78 percent of the population, Turkish Cypriots 18.3 percent, and other minorities the remainder. The numerical representation of the two groups in the civil service was based on a 70:30 percent ratio in favor of the larger community. The civil service structure was modeled on the **British** civil service, with promotions based on a grade-level system. The Public Service Commission would decide on the rules of conduct and on the requirements for all positions. The 1960 constitutional set-up lasted only three years. The establishment of separate

municipalities was called for by the constitution, but the legislation about their implementation was never passed, so it became a very divisive intercommunal issue. A Turkish Cypriot protest against proposed changes to the constitution by **Makarios** took place in December 1963; the Turkish Cypriot leadership withdrew all members of the community from all organs of the state.

**CORNARO, CATERINA (1454–1510).** A **Venetian** noblewoman married in 1472 to James II, King of Cyprus, Jerusalem, and Armenia. For James, the marriage delivered a vital alliance with Venice. King James II died of a sudden illness in 1473, leaving Caterina and their unborn child the heirs to his kingdom. Shortly after the birth of James III in August 1473, the archbishop of **Nicosia** and his Neapolitan allies captured Cyprus. The death of Caterina's son, James III, in 1474 led to further conspiracies to take power from Caterina, all of which the Venetians thwarted. In 1489, Caterina Cornaro finally abdicated and in return she was given life use of the castle and town of Asolo by Venice. *See also* VENETIAN RULE.

**COUNCIL OF MINISTERS, REPUBLIC OF CYPRUS.** Executive branch of the **government** through which the **president** of the **Republic** exercises his executive powers. The Council is appointed by the president. According to the 1960 **Constitution**, the Council of Ministers was to be split 70:30 between the **Greek Cypriot** and **Turkish Cypriot** communities, respectively (*see* CONSTITUTION). An absolute majority is required for a Council decision, and one of the three ministries of defense, finance, or **foreign** affairs was to be granted to a Turkish Cypriot. After the intercommunal conflict of 1963–1964, however, the Turkish Cypriot ministers withdrew from the government.

The Council of Ministers governs through allocation of the budget, coordination and supervision of the public services, and processing of the budget and bills prior to their submission to the **House of Representatives**.

Ministries in Cyprus number 11: Ministry of Agriculture, Natural Resources and Environment; Ministry of Commerce, Industry and Tourism; Ministry of Communications and Works; Ministry of Defense; Ministry of Education and Culture; Ministry of Finance;

# 38 • "COUNCIL OF MINISTERS," TURKISH-ADMINISTERED AREA

Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Ministry of Health; Ministry of Interior; Ministry of Justice and Public Order; and Ministry of Labor and Social Insurance.

- "COUNCIL OF MINISTERS," TURKISH-ADMINISTERED AREA. The "Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC)" is the area under the Turkish administration. It was established de facto in 1983 with the Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) by the Turkish Cypriots. The international community has declared "TRNC" illegal in a number of UN resolutions. In the executive structure, there is a "Council of Ministers." It is composed of a "prime minister" and "ministers," all appointed by the "president," the former from among the "Assembly" members, while the latter can be from outside the "Assembly" upon the recommendation of the "prime minister" (*see* "HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES," TURKISH-ADMINISTERED AREA). The number of ministers should not exceed 10. The "prime minister" presides over the meetings of the "Council of Ministers," as can the "president," but the latter cannot vote.
- COUP D'ETAT. In July 1974, the already tense relationship between President Makarios III and the Greek Junta escalated to the extent that the Cypriot president publicly claimed to have irrefutable evidence of a link between mainland Greek officers of the Cyprus National Guard and the National Organization of Cypriot Fighters B (EOKA-B) underground organization. Makarios stated that the Greek regime sought to destroy the Cypriot state and demanded the removal of almost all the Greek officers of the National Guard. Several days later, on 15 July 1974, a Greek junta-backed coup d'état took place. Makarios was ousted and declared dead. In fact, with British aid, he escaped from the presidential palace and was transported in a helicopter to the British Sovereign Base Areas (SBAs) at Akrotiri. Makarios would eventually flee to London and appeal for assistance to the United Nations Security Council. Meanwhile, the position of the president was filled by Nicos Sampson, a former fighter of the National Organization of Cypriot Fighters (EOKA) endorsed by the junta.

The coup was followed by an outbreak of violence within the **Greek Cypriot** community and had profound political consequences for the whole island. On 20 July 1974, **Turkey** unilaterally **invaded** Cyprus and followed up with a second phase on 15 August. When the **military** junta in **Greece** collapsed only three days later, Cyprus had **Glafkos Clerides** sworn in as acting president.

The Greek-supported forces initiated the coup in a mistaken belief that it would bring *enosis*. The removal of Makarios and other key anti-enosists was meant to clear the way for direct negotiations with Turkey. The coupists believed that it would be possible to unite most of the island with Greece, conceding a small part to Turkey. Instead, the coup d'état and the subsequent Turkish invasion led to the complete de facto partition of the island and resulted in thousands of deaths and the displacement of one-third of the population.

**CYPRUS ANNEXATION LAW.** On 5 November 1914, **Great Britain** issued the Cyprus Annexation Order. In the order, Britain announced that, as the **Ottomans** had joined forces with the enemies of the Triple Entente (Great Britain, France, and Russia), the Cyprus convention was effectively null and void. Cyprus was declared a Crown colony on 10 March 1925 by Royal Letters Patent. With the **Treaty of Lausanne**, **Turkey** officially recognized Britain's annexation of Cyprus. *See also* BRITISH LANDING; BRITISH RULE.

**CYPRUS ARCHEOLOGICAL MUSEUM.** The museum is located in Nicosia and dates to 1882, although the collection was not moved to its current location until 1909. It has been operated under the auspices of the Antiquities Department since 1935. The museum is arranged according to time period, and the collection is divided among 14 halls:

- I. Neolithic Chalcolithic Age: Choirokitia
- II. Early Bronze Age
- III. Middle to Late Bronze Age; Mycenean to Roman Vases
- IV. Late Bronze Age
- V. Cypriot sculpture
- VI. Bronze statues

# 40 • CYPRUS CONVENTION

- VII. Metallurgy
- VIII. Reconstructions of tombs
  - IX. Hellenistic Period: tombstones, sarcophagi
  - X. Inscriptions
  - XI. Salamis
- XII. Metallurgy
- XIII. Marble statues
- XIV. Clay idols

The collection continues to expand due to archeological excavations conducted by museum staff and visiting archeological expeditions from overseas. There is also an archeological library at the museum. The museum houses extensive reserve collections that are only accessible to archeologists and students on application to the curator of the museum. *See also* ARCHEOLOGY.

**CYPRUS CONVENTION.** A secret convention between the **Ottoman** Empire and **Great Britain** transferring the island of Cyprus to **British** administration, signed on 4 June 1878. The agreement granted control of Cyprus to Britain, although the Ottoman Empire retained sovereignty of the island. The provisions of the agreement involved an annual payment from the British to the Ottomans. In the event that the Ottomans recovered lost territories from the Russians, Great Britain would be required to relinquish the island. *See also* BRITISH LANDING; CYPRUS ANNEXATION LAW.

CYPRUS GREEN PARTY/KINIMA OIKOLOGON PERIVALLON-TISTON/KINHMA OIKOAOFΩN IIEPIBAAAONTIΣTΩN. A Greek Cypriot political party established in March 1996. It is a member of the European Federation of Green Parties. A sevenmember committee governs the party, and the post of general coordinator rotates among the committee members. The Cyprus Green Party opposes drawing of geographical borders on the island along ethnic and religious lines.

The party secured 1.98 percent of votes (1 seat) in the 27 May 2001 **parliamentary elections**, entering the **House of Representatives** for the first time. In the parliamentary elections of 2006, the Cyprus Green Party received 8,193 votes or 1.95 percent of the votes (1 seat).

**CYPRUS PROBLEM.** What is known as the "Cyprus problem" began in the mid-1950s, specifically in 1955, with the **Greek Cypriot** guerrilla war against the **British** and for *enosis* (unification of Cyprus with **Greece**). The guerrilla movement, known as the **National Organization of Cypriot Fighters (EOKA)**, was secretly supported by Greece. It was led by **George Grivas** between 1955 and 1959 and sought the expulsion of British troops from the island, self-determination, and *enosis*. When in 1954 Britain composed a new **constitution**, it was accepted by **Turkish Cypriots** but rejected by EOKA. In response, British authorities formed an auxiliary police force made up of Turkish Cypriots. They also exiled **Archbishop Makarios III**, the head of the *enosis* campaign, to the Seychelles.

In 1957, the **Turkish Resistance Organization** (**TMT**) was created. TMT was a paramilitary organization, supported by **Turkey**, which had been set up to counter the existence of EOKA and to secure the interests of the Turkish Cypriot community. TMT supported *taksim* (partition of the island and unification of its Turkish Cypriot–populated territory with Turkey). Thus, the conflict became internationalized through Greece and Turkey.

In 1958, **intercommunal** violence erupted on the island. This led to the **London-Zurich Agreements**, tripartite agreements signed by **Britain**, Turkey, and Greece on 11 and 19 February 1959. As a result, the State of Cyprus was born, and Archbishop Makarios returned home.

The London-Zurich Agreements provided for restricted sovereignty of the new partnership state and gave Britain, Greece, and Turkey power to protect it. In December 1959, Archbishop Makarios, who had returned from exile, was elected **president** of the new **Republic of Cyprus** and **Fazil Kuchuk** was elected vice president. The elections for the **House of Representatives** took place in July 1960. On 16 August 1960, Cyprus became a republic with a **constitution**, implementation of which was very problematic from the moment of its establishment and that would eventually bring the state machinery to a standstill. The new constitution was interlinked with the three fundamental treaties concerning the island's future, of Establishment, Guarantee, and Alliance.

## 42 • CYPRUS PROBLEM

- The Treaty of Guarantee, allowed Britain, Greece, and Turkey to unilaterally intervene to re-establish the state of affairs created by the Treaty.
- The Treaty of Alliance, provided for tripartite headquarters of the three guarantors, a Greek contingent of 950 soldiers, and a Turkish one of 650 soldiers.
- The Treaty of Establishment, excluded the British **military** bases area in **Akrotiri** and **Dhekelia** from the boundaries of the Republic (*see* BRITISH SOVEREIGN BASE AREAS).

The Republic was to have a presidential regime, with a Greek Cypriot president elected by Greek Cypriots and a Turkish Cypriot vice president elected by Turkish Cypriots. The executive power was vested in the Greek Cypriot president and the Turkish Cypriot vice president, both enjoying veto power. The constitution and its administration were based on the principle of bicommunality, employing a 70:30 ratio of Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots; this ratio was to be 60:40 in the army.

However, in 1961 that balance was brought into question and led to repeated constitutional blockages. Each party would use its right of veto to block the propositions of the other party. In order to remedy that situation, but against the advice of many, in 1963 Makarios proposed 13 amendments, which would, in his view, have allowed the resolution of the constitutional problems. The amendments Makarios proposed were viewed by both Turkey and Turkish Cypriots as diluting power-sharing arrangements and were thus rejected by them. The vice president, the Turkish Cypriot ministers, and Turkish Cypriot members of parliament left their posts in the **government**, and Turkish Cypriot enclaves were created. In December 1963, intercommunal violence erupted once more, resulting in more than 100 deaths.

In March 1964, by the resolution of the United Nations (UN) Security Council, the United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) was established on the island. In spite of the presence of the UN, a new wave of intercommunal violence took place in 1964. The consequences of these and other events of that time were far reaching as tens of thousands of Cypriots were uprooted and displaced, the great majority of whom were estimated to belong to the Turkish Cypriot community. Turkey was ready to land troops on the island and was only prevented from taking action by the intervention of **United States** President **Lyndon Johnson**. It did, however, bomb Greek Cypriot villages in the **Paphos** region without landing any troops.

In 1970, the already strained relations between the Greek Cypriots and the Greek junta ruling Greece deteriorated further. On 15 July 1974, in a Greek-supported **coup d'état** and amid violence within the Greek Cypriot community, president Makarios was overthrown and replaced by **Nicos Sampson**, a former EOKA fighter endorsed by the coupists.

On 20 July 1974, in response to the coup and justifying its action under the Treaty of Guarantee, Turkey landed forces in **Kyrenia**. A second phase followed in August, creating a fait accompli and thus rendering the operation an **invasion**. When the offensive finally drew to a close, Turkish forces controlled approximately 37 percent of the island's territory. There had been a significant movement of population, with Greek Cypriots fleeing to the south and many Turkish Cypriots to the north (*see* REFUGEES). In the aftermath of 1974 events, well over 160,000 Greek Cypriots were displaced from their homes in the occupied north of the island, as were some 43,000 Turkish Cypriots from the south. The events claimed thousands of lives (*see* MISSING).

Archbishop Makarios returned to power on 7 December 1974 and remained in office until 1977. In February 1975, the Turkish Cypriot leadership proclaimed the **"Turkish Federated State of Cyprus** (**TFSC**)." This was followed in 1983 by the **Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI)**, leading to the establishment of the **"Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC)"** with **Rauf Denktash** as its "president." The Turkish Cypriot de facto state is, however, recognized only by Turkey.

Following the coup d'état and the Turkish invasion of 1974, several attempts at a settlement have been made, usually under the auspices of the UN. The two **High-Level Agreements of 1977 and 1979** (four- and ten-point agreements) were signed by Denktash and Archbishop Makarios, and Denktash and **Spyros Kyprianou** (following Makarios's death in 1977). Although they represented an important step toward reconciliation, they were not implemented because of disagreements between the two communities.

#### 44 • DEMOCRATIC PARTY

New negotiations mediated by Secretary-General of the UN **Perez de Cuellar** took place in 1984 but were unsuccessful. In 1992, Secretary-General **Boutros-Ghali**'s **Set of Ideas** for the settlement of the problem, followed by a second package of more modest **confidencebuilding measures**, produced no tangible results either.

In 2004, Secretary-General **Kofi Annan** proposed what is referred to as the **Annan Plan** for the solution of the Cyprus problem. On 24 April 2004, the plan was put to **referendum** in both Greek and Turkish communities of the island. While more than 75 percent of Greek Cypriots rejected the plan, more than 64 percent of Turkish Cypriots voted in its favor.

# – D –

# DEMOCRATIC PARTY (DIKO)/DIMOKRATIKO KO'MMA (DIKO)/ ΔΗΜΟΚΡΑΤΙΚΌ ΚΌΜΜΑ (ΔΗΚΟ). A centrist party established in 1976 by Spyros Kyprianou. It was recently led by Tassos Papadopoulos, former president of the Republic of Cyprus. The current president of DIKO is Marios Karoyian, the first Armenian president of a Cypriot political party. DIKO supports a settlement of the Cyprus problem based on United Nations (UN) resolutions.

DIKO secured 14.84 percent of the votes (9 seats) in the **parliamentary elections** of 27 May 2001, and on 13 June 2004 the party won one of six seats in the **European** Parliament which it managed to retain in the subsequent elections in 2009. In the parliamentary elections of 2006, DIKO received 75,458 votes or 17.92 percent of the vote (11 seats).

**DEMOCRATIC PARTY (DP)**/*DEMOKRAT PARTISI (DP)*. The DP, founded in 1992, is a recent addition to **Turkish Cypriot** politics. The party is headed by **Serdar Denktash**, one of its founding members and the son of the founder of the **"Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC)," Rauf Denktash**. In 1993, after merging with the Yeni Dogus Partisi (New Birth Party), a party formed by immigrants from **Turkey**, the DP received 29.2 percent of the votes in its first elections, but support for the party has been declining ever since. In the December 2003 elections, it only gained 12.9 percent of the votes, a result which

was repeated in February 2005. The next parliamentary elections of 2009 brought only 10.65 percent of the votes (5 seats) to the party.

DEMOCRATIC RALLY (DISY)/DIMOKRATIKOS SYNAGERMOS (DISY)/ΔΗΜΟΚΡΑΚΌΣΥΝΑΓΕΜΌΣ ΚΌΜΜΑ (ΔΗΚΟ). A center-right Greek Cypriot political party founded in 1976 by the former president of the Republic, Glafkos Clerides. After Clerides was elected president of the Republic in 1993, Yiannakis Matsis replaced him as president of DISY. The party's current leader, Nicos Anastasiades, succeeded Matsis in 1997's uncontested party elections and was reelected to that post in 1999 and again in 2003 and 2007.

After the **Progressive Party of the Working People (AKEL)**, DISY is the second largest party in the **House of Representatives**. DISY's ideology is based on Christian Democratic values. It believes in the development of the individual and the family, and encourages social cohesion.

DISY is a member of the **European** People's Party, Christian Democrat International, European Democrat Union, and International Democrat Union. The party advances a bizonal, bicommunal federation as the basis for the solution to the **Cyprus problem**. DISY supported the **Annan Plan** in 2004. Two deputies who had disobeyed the party line on this issue were subsequently expelled from the party.

The party secured 34 percent of the votes (19 seats) in the 27 May 2001 **parliamentary elections**. In the 13 June 2004 elections to the European Parliament it gained the largest share of the vote (28.2%) and two of six seats. In the parliamentary elections of 2006, DISY received 127,776 votes or 30.34 percent of the vote (18 seats). In June 2009 elections, DISY managed to retain its two seats in the European Parliament. DISY also operates various subparties, including the Youth Organization NEDISY and the Women's Organization GODISY. Since 1999, amendments to the party statutes have followed a quota system, safeguarding a minimum of 20 percent participation of **women** in all party organs.

**DENIZ** INCIDENT. On 18 October 1959, the British minesweeper, HMS *Burmaston*, boarded *Deniz*, a **Turkish** registered motorboat, just off the northeastern coast of the island. The three-man crew scuttled the boat and threw two cases of ammunition overboard before being arrested by the search party. At a court hearing held in **Famagusta**, the three Turkish nationals were charged with attempting to import munitions into the country without a permit and were remanded in custody.

The *Deniz* incident fueled speculation that the **Turkish Resistance Organization (TMT)** was still active on the island. A few days after the incident, the leader of the **Greek Cypriot** community, **Archbishop Makarios III**, informed his **Turkish Cypriot** counterpart, **Fazil Kuchuk**, that he intended to suspend **constitutional** negotiations as he had been given reason to doubt the sincerity of the Turkish Cypriot side. Fazil Kuchuk responded by saying that his community could not be held accountable for the actions of "some irresponsible people." He went on to suggest a joint plan for the surrender of illegal arms, and on 28 and 29 October the leaders appealed to their communities to hand over any illegal munitions in their possession before the 15 November deadline. Makarios also made it clear that constitutional negotiations would resume the following week.

The crew of the *Deniz* was found guilty as charged and sentenced to one year's imprisonment for their crime. However, the British governor, **Sir Hugh Foot**, commuted their sentences, and they were deported.

DENKTASH, RAUF (1924–). "President" of the "Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC)" between 1985 and 2005. Born in Paphos, Rauf Denktash graduated from the English School in Nicosia before continuing his education in London. He graduated in 1947 and returned to Cyprus to practice law. In 1948, Denktash became a member of the Consultative Assembly that was pursuing the goal of self-government on the island. He later became a member of the Turkish Affairs Committee. In 1949, he became a Crown prosecutor, a post he held until 1958.

Denktash was also active in the **Turkish Resistance Organization (TMT)**, which was set up in response to the **National Organization of Cypriot Fighters (EOKA)** and its fight for *enosis* with **Greece**. He was involved in the protection of **Turkish Cypriot** rights and attended the **United Nations** General Assembly in 1958. He was also an advisor to the Turkish Cypriot delegation during the preparation of the Zurich Agreement. Upon independence in 1960, Denktash became **president** of the Turkish Communal Chamber. In November 1963, **Archbishop Makarios III** proposed 13 amendments to the **constitution**. Shortly afterward, in the wake of **intercommunal** clashes, the **Turkish Cypriots** withdrew from public posts, and Denktash went to Ankara to discuss the situation with the Turkish government. Due to his involvement with TMT, he was prohibited from reentering the island between 1964 and 1968.

Following the 1974 **coup d'état** and the subsequent Turkish **invasion**, Denktash became "president" of the **"Turkish Federated State of Cyprus (TFSC)"** in 1976, and he was elected for a second term in 1981. On 15 November 1985, Denktash organized a **Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI)** that saw the establishment of the "Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC)," which like the "TFSC" has been recognized only by **Turkey**.

Rauf Denktash opposed the **Annan Plan**, as did **Tassos Papadopoulos**. However, in the **referendum** on 24 April 2004, the Turkish Cypriot community voted resoundingly in favor of the plan, while the **Greek Cypriots** voted overwhelmingly against it.

On 14 May 2004, Denktash announced that he would not stand for a fifth term as "president" of the "TRNC." **Mehmet Ali Talat**, who assumed office on 25 April 2005, succeeded him.

DENKTASH, SERDAR (1959–). Son of Rauf Denktash, the former "president" of the de facto "Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC)." He has held various posts in the administration of "TRNC," including "minister of the Interior, Rural Affairs and Environment," and in the coalition government of the Republican Turkish Party (RTP) he served as "deputy prime minister" and "minister of foreign affairs." Born in Nicosia and having attended the University of Cardiff, Serdar Denktash completed his studies at the London College of Printing. Once back in Cyprus, Denktash junior served as the general manager of the Credit Bank of Cyprus for a while.

In 1990, Serdar Denktash was elected to the "TRNC Assembly" (*see* "HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES," TURKISH-ADMINIS-TERED AREA) as a representative of the National Unity Party (NUP). He resigned from NUP in 1992 and took part in the formation of the Democratic Party (DP), which he has been leading since 1996. He was re-elected as a DP "parliament" member in 1993, 1998, and 2003.

### 48 • DE SOTO, ALVARO

Serdar Denktash is known to be more conciliatory and "reform oriented" than his father, Rauf Denktash. Nevertheless, the younger Denktash was one of the vocal opponents of the last **United Nations** proposal, the **Annan Plan**, for the settlement of the **Cyprus problem**, a position which he has gradually changed toward the idea of a new series of talks with the Cyprus **government**.

**DE SOTO, ALVARO (1943– ).** The **United Nations** secretary-general's Special Advisor for Cyprus from 1999 until 2004. De Soto's negotiating team included legal advisor Didier Pfirter and other experts in the fields of property issues and peacekeeping. On 12 July 2002, de Soto presented the "Preliminary Thoughts" to each of the parties and asked them to respond.

During 2002, de Soto also undertook an intensive process of consultation with the **governments** of **Greece** and **Turkey**, the **European** Commission, the **United States**, and **Great Britain**. For this consultation process, de Soto paid several visits to Ankara during October 2002.

DHEKELIA. See BRITISH SOVEREIGN BASE AREAS.

**DHERYNIA INCIDENT.** On Sunday 11 August 1996, demonstrators entered the **United Nations (UN) Buffer Zone** to deliver a petition to the **Turkish Cypriot checkpoint**. The demonstration was peaceful, with approximately 250 **Greek Cypriots** in attendance. The demonstrators were turned away without delivering the petition, and though they exited the buffer zone, they remained in the vicinity. Later in the day, some 300 motorcyclists, joined by several hundred people in vehicles, and escorted by the Cypriot police, assembled at Dherynia **National Guard** ceasefire line checkpoint. With no military guard at the checkpoint at that moment, the demonstrators proceeded to the UN Buffer Zone. In the meantime, Turkish forces had allowed approximately 1,000 people on their side to enter their **military** zone and assemble along the Turkish Force (TF) cease-fire line.

As Greek Cypriots approached the TF cease-fire line from the UN Buffer Zone, the situation soon became violent. At approximately 4:00 PM, Turkish Cypriot demonstrators entered the UN Buffer Zone armed with bats and iron bars and, along with members of the Turkish Cypriot police force, proceeded to attack the Greek Cypriot demonstrators. Behind the TF cease-fire line, Greek Cypriot demonstrators were shot at. Anastasios Isaac, a Greek Cypriot demonstrator, was beaten to death by a number of Turkish Cypriot extremists. Two Irish UN Police went to the aid of Isaac and were finally able to push aside the Turkish Cypriots—but it was too late. Isaac was killed within the buffer zone, about 95 meters from the National Guard ceasefire line and about 32 meters from the Turkish Forces cease-fire line. There were also numerous injuries. Twelve of the **United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP)** were injured along with 54 Greek Cypriots and 17 Turkish Cypriots.

Following the funeral of Anastasios Isaac on 14 August 1996, groups of Greek Cypriot men broke through the barbed wire barriers along the cease-fire line. UNFICYP soldiers attempted to restrain a demonstrator, Spyros Solomou, as he dashed toward a Turkish Cypriot guardhouse. They were unable to prevent him from climbing a flagpole to remove the Turkish **flag**. He had climbed approximately six feet when he was struck by fatal shots from the Turkish side. The incident was shown live on Greek Cypriot television. Two **UN** soldiers were also shot, one in the arm and the other in the buttocks, although their injuries were not life threatening.

At the time, the UNFICYP spokesman Waldamar Rokoszewski stated, "What happened today was a totally unacceptable, totally disproportionate response, an inexcusable over-reaction."

# **DIKO.** See DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

# **DISY.** See DEMOCRATIC RALLY.

# DRAGOMAN HADJIGEORGAKIS MUSEUM OF CULTURE.

The two-story house in **Nicosia**, constructed from local block-cut sandstone, was completed in 1793. The building is in the form of a triangle or a Greek  $\Delta$ . A central garden is enclosed by the walls, with a fountain and a hammam (bathhouse) within. The entrance is located on the first floor and can be accessed by a covered staircase. The other living areas all lead off from this entrance hall. The official reception room is reminiscent of the style used in many

# 50 • DURDURAN, ALPAY

**Ottoman**-era mansions. Exceptional carved woodwork and gilded and painted decorations are the focal point of the room. *See also* HADJIGEORGAKIS, KORNESIOS.

**DURDURAN, ALPAY (1942– ).** A veteran **Turkish Cypriot** politician and the leader of the left-wing Patriot Union Party (Yurtsever Birlik Partisi) that supports a return to the 1960 **Constitution**'s shared-**government** system.

Durduran was one of the founders and the first **president** of the **Communal Liberation Party** (**CLP**), which was the main opposition party between 1976 and 1985. Disputes in the 1981 elections rendered him unable to form a government. In the aftermath of the establishment of the **"Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus** (**TRNC**)," the party became internally divided, and Durduran left to form the New Cyprus Party (Yeni Kibris Partisi) in 1989. From the outset, groups believed to be linked to **Turkish** authorities threatened the party. Several attempts were made on Durduran's life, including the 1990 bomb explosion in front of his **Nicosia** home. A year later, in 1991, a bomb exploded under his car, and in 1992 the party building came under machine gun fire. Durduran had recently expressed support for a **UN** model seeking a solution to the **Cyprus problem**.

Alpay Durduran's party did not enter the 2003 elections, announcing them illegitimate because of the rising number of recently arrived Turkish immigrants to northern Cyprus. Instead, Durduran and his party brought a case before the **European** Court of Human Rights, arguing that because of the major influx of the Turkish settlers to "TRNC," the election process was fundamentally flawed and in violation of several international conventions.

**EASTER** (*PASCHA/II'A* $\Sigma$ *XA*). Easter is the most important **religious** festival of the Greek Orthodox calendar. It is a movable feast based on the Julian calendar. *Pascha*, the Greek word for Easter, is derived from the Hebrew for Passover, *Pesach*. The week following Easter is known as *Lambri*, which means bright and refers to the resurrection of Christ.

As in Christian communities around the globe, Easter preparations begin weeks before the actual religious festival. The Carnival takes place 50 days before Easter and is associated with the beginning of fasting. Festivities build up over a week and culminate in the carnival parades, the largest of which is held in **Limassol**. The carnival period is traditionally the last opportunity to consume meat, eggs, and dairy before the beginning of the Easter fast.

The Easter fast officially begins on *Kathara Deftera* (Green/Clean Monday), the day after the Carnival parade. Traditionally, families prepare meals of vegetables, olives, *halouvas*, wine, and other fasting foods and travel into the countryside to enjoy the fruits of nature. Another tradition associated with Green Monday is kite flying. In Cyprus, many people, both young and old, still observe the fast, although greater numbers only fast in the week before Easter.

Holy week is called *Megali Evdomada* (Great Week) and begins on Palm Sunday. There are church services every evening during Holy Week. Maundy Thursday is known as *Meghali Pempti* (Great Thursday) and commemorates the Last Supper. Families gather together to prepare traditional Easter eggs, bread, and *flaounes* (Easter cakes filled with eggs, cheese, and sometimes currants). Eggs are boiled and painted red to symbolize the blood of Christ. On Good Friday, or *Megali Paraskevi* (Great Friday), children decorate the *Epitaphios* (Holy Sepulchrae). Fresh flowers are placed decoratively on the symbolic carved wooden coffin/bier. On the eve of this somber day, each church parades its *Epitaphios*, behind which worshippers form a "funeral" procession.

On the morning of Holy Saturday or *Meghalo Savvato* (Great Saturday), bonfires are built within the grounds of churches. Later in the day, the bonfires are lit to burn effigies of Judas. In the evening, people gather at churches, and at the stroke of midnight all lights in the church are extinguished. The priest then lights a candle and summons the congregation to pass the flame until everyone present is holding a flickering candle. The church is transformed from darkness to light, signifying Christ's resurrection. Following the ceremony, people return to their homes, trying to keep their candles aflame. It is considered good luck to keep the flame burning. The fast is broken, and a traditional meal of soup is then eaten. The traditional greeting of *Christos Anesti* (Christ is Risen) and the reply *Alithos Anesti* (He

### 52 • ECEVIT, BULENT

is truly Risen) is commonplace during the week following Easter. On Easter Sunday, families prepare feasts of spit-roasted lamb and other delicacies. *See also* CHURCH OF CYPRUS.

ECEVIT, BULENT (1925–2006). Turkish politician, writer and journalist, and four-time prime minister of **Turkey**. Born in Istanbul, Ecevit attended Robert College, a private American school. He became a member of the center-left Republican People's Party (RPP) and was elected a member of **parliament** in 1957. Ecevit was minister of labor (1961–1965) and secretary general of the RPP (1966–1971). He served as prime minister of Turkey for nine months in 1974.

Following the July 1974 coup d'état, backed by the Greek military dictatorship, Ecevit's government ordered the invasion of Cyprus. He was ousted a few months after the invasion, although he was reelected in 1977 for one month and again from January 1978 to October 1979. After the military coup led by General Kenan Evren in 1980, Ecevit was imprisoned and banned from politics. A referendum in 1987 lifted his ban from politics, and he became the chairman of the Democratic Left Party (DLP). In 1998–1999, he was briefly caretaker prime minister in the run-up to the 1999 general elections, in which his party gained the majority of seats, leading to Ecevit's last election as prime minister. During his last tenure, the government took steps toward stabilizing Turkish economy and preparing the state for accession negotiations with the European Union. This, however, brought the Turkish economy into a deep crisis, resulting in the unpopularity of the prime minister and his government. Thus, Ecevit's party lost in the general elections of 2002, which subsequently led to DLP's leader retiring from active politics in 2004.

**ECONOMY.** Following **independence** in 1960, the island's economy recorded vigorous development characterized by rapid growth, full employment, dynamic services, external and internal stability, and an advanced physical and social infrastructure. **Agriculture** alone accounted for one-third of the island's gross domestic product (GDP). The sectors of **tourism** and light industry also expanded during this period.

The de facto partition of the island following the 1974 Turkish **invasion** had serious repercussions, particularly for the sectors of

agriculture, tourism, **mining**, and quarrying. Seventy percent of the island's productive natural resources were affected; the tourism industry lost 65 percent of the island's tourist accommodation, light industry production was down by 46 percent, and mining and quarrying by 56 percent. The loss of the **Famagusta port**, which was responsible for handling 83 percent of general cargo prior to the Turkish invasion in 1974, also had an adverse influence on the economy. The closure of **Nicosia** International Airport, currently lying within the **United Nations Buffer Zone**, was not favorable for the economy either.

Increasingly, the economy relied on light industry from 1974 to the mid-1980s, when the service sector began to emerge. Cyprus now has a free market economy that has grown in size and strength since independence. In 2006, the projected per capita income was around €18,281, which is 84 percent of the **European Union**'s (**EU**) 25 member states' average. The level of unemployment and inflation stood at 3.4 percent and 2.5 percent respectively for 2005. The real GDP growth rate for 2007 was around 4.2 percent. The fiscal deficit fell to nearly 1.9 percent of the GDP in 2006. The fiscal deficit fell even further, down to 1.4 percent, in 2007.

Cyprus now has a service-oriented economy. Some 75 percent of the contributions to the GDP are provided by the service sector (tourism, finance, insurance, and business). Exports and imports are carried out largely in cooperation with EU partners, accounting for well over half the volume of the country's trade. In 2005, imports from the EU constituted approximately 65 percent of all imports, and exports to the EU stood at 55 percent of overall exports. Manufactured products accounted for 57 percent of exports and agricultural products for 40 percent, 25 percent of which were raw and about 15 percent processed products.

Also, as a place of transit cargo, Cyprus enjoys a privileged position. In 2004, the amount of cargo reshipped through the island reached  $\in$ 535 million. Tobacco, processed foodstuffs, beverages, textiles and textile articles, minerals, and chemicals are among the main products re-exported from Cyprus (*see* SHIPPING).

On 29 April 2005, the Cyprus pound joined the European Exchange Rate Mechanism II (ERM II), a prerequisite for joining the Economic and Monetary Union (EMU). The Cyprus pound was set at 1 euro = 0.58527 Cyprus pounds. A standard fluctuation rate of 15 percent either way was permitted. On 1 January 2008, Cyprus adopted the euro as its currency.

There are 16 domestic banks, 22 international **banking** units (formerly "off-shore banks"), and one representative office of a foreign bank, all under the supervision of the Central Bank of Cyprus. All banking practices and arrangements are built on the **British** model.

Due to the small size of Cyprus's economy and inability to achieve economies of scale, sectors such as agriculture cannot remain competitive, which is why the island has witnessed a gradual decrease of that activity. Also the emergence of other more profitable business has added to the decline of agricultural activity in Cyprus.

The Cyprus Stock Exchange started operating in March 1996. It is a regulated market that, following a year of unexpected boom in 1998–1999, had a spectacular crash in November 1999. It has now partially recovered.

As in the government-controlled area, services dominate the economy of the **Turkish Cypriot**-administered section, supplemented with smaller agriculture and light manufacturing. The economy suffers from political isolation that impedes government and private investment.

High freight costs and a shortage of skilled labor also constrain the economy. Recent years have seen an increasing number of Turkish Cypriots employed in the **government**-controlled south. An estimated 5,000 Turkish Cypriots work in the south, and due to higher wages in the government-controlled areas, the Turkish Cypriot economy has been buoyed. In 2003 and 2005, growth rates of 11.4 percent and 10.6 percent were recorded, and per capita income almost doubled in the same period, reaching US\$10,248 at the end of 2005. In 2003, the services sector accounted for nearly two-thirds of GDP, industry accounted for 11.6 percent of GDP, agriculture for 10.6 percent, and construction for 10.1 percent, according to Turkish Cypriot statistics.

In 2004, the EU introduced new rules authorizing transaction of goods produced in the "**Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus** (**TRNC**)" in the **Republic of Cyprus**, provided that they meet the EU sanitary/phyto-sanitary requirements and other related regulations. In May 2005, Turkish Cypriot authorities introduced a similar

rule permitting some goods produced in the south to be sold in the north. In spite of the above, there is only limited trade between the **Greek Cypriot** and Turkish Cypriot communities. Suppliers of imported merchandise in the government-controlled Republic of Cyprus cannot directly operate in the Turkish Cypriot market.

A landmark decision of the European Court of Justice (ECJ) of 5 July 1994 allowed EU member states to import only goods bearing the Republic of Cyprus certificate of origin. This ruling particularly affected **Great Britain**'s imports from the "TRNC," which are not certified by the Republic of Cyprus. The ruling also had significant repercussions for Turkish Cypriot exports to the European Union, which saw a marked reduction, from 66.7 percent of total exports in 1993 to 28 percent in 2003.

Although **Turkey** is the main trading partner of the Turkish Cypriot-administered section of the island, supplying 60 percent of imports and purchasing more than 40 percent of exports, the EU has a 25 percent share of total imports and 28 percent share of total exports to and from the area.

Since the events of 1974, total Turkish aid to the Turkish Cypriot community is estimated to have been in excess of \$3 billion, and assistance from Turkey is still crucial for the Turkish Cypriot economy. The economic protocol signed between Turkey and Turkish Cypriots in 2005 provides for US\$450 million in financial assistance from Ankara over a three-year period to be used for public finance, tourism, banking, and privatization projects. *See also* MINING; SHIPPING; TRANSPORT.

EDEK. See MOVEMENT OF SOCIAL DEMOCRATS.

EDEN, SIR ANTHONY (1897–1977). Prime minister of Great Britain from 1955 to 1957. Anthony Eden succeeded Winston Churchill, but poor health resulted in his resignation on 9 January 1957. On 22 September 1953, during his term as British foreign secretary, Eden had met with the prime minister of Greece, Alexandros Papagos, but had refused to discuss Cyprus. Pressured by Makarios, the Church, and public opinion, Papagos saw no reason to oppose *enosis* any longer for the sake of Greek-British relations. Late in 1953, the United States embassy in Athens was instructed to prevent Greece from taking the Cyprus question to the **United Nations (UN)**. In March 1954, Eden stated in parliament that his government was not prepared to discuss Cyprus. On 15 April 1954, Papagos informed his foreign minister that he would appeal to the UN regarding Cyprus if bilateral negotiations did not begin by August of that year.

Following a statement made by **Henry Hopkinson** on 28 July 1954, in which he said Cyprus "could *never* expect to be fully independent," Papagos appealed to the UN, demanding the "application, under the auspices of the UN, of the principle of equal rights and self determination of peoples in the case of the population of the island of Cyprus."

Eden encouraged the increasing involvement of **Turkey** on the premise that the **Cyprus problem** was no longer a "domestic" or "colonial" issue or a problem between Britain and Greece but one that "must" involve Turkey as well.

EISENHOWER, DWIGHT (1890–1969). President of the United States (US) from 1952 to 1960. In 1954, Greece took the Cyprus problem to the United Nations (UN) but failed to win the support of the Eisenhower administration. The US was against internationalizing the issue and favored a more discreet, diplomatic approach. It became closely involved and was motivated to avoid disruption to the southern flank of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). The Americans wanted to avoid a Greco-Turkish rift. Mounting calls for *enosis* or union with Greece from the Greek Cypriot majority thus constituted a threat to stability in the region. Washington pushed for independence and a constitution that would allow self-determination and protection of minorities. Upon independence in 1960, Great Britain retained a portion of the island for defense purposes. *See also* BRITISH SOVEREIGN BASE AREAS.

**ELEFTHERIA SQUARE.** The main square in the **government-**controlled area of **Nicosia**, the Freedom Square (*Platia Eleftherias*) was originally named Platia Metaxa after the Greek dictator of the 1940s. The name change occurred in 1974, when a Greek-staged **coup d'etat** led to the **invasion** of the island by **Turkey** and the de facto division of the country that persists to this day.

Eleftheria square bridges the moat skirting the perimeter of the **Venetian Walls**. The walls encircle the old town and delineate it clearly from its more modern parts. The square leads off the pedestrianized area of the old town and is, in fact, a 100-meter-long, four-lane stretch of road that connects the old town to the new. On both sides of the square, the moat has been converted into public parks and provides space for different functions. And the Town House overlooks the square from its location in one of the bastions.

The decision to pedestrianize the square was made recently, and an international architectural competition was launched to find a designer. Zaha Hadid, in collaboration with a Greek Cypriot and a **Turkish Cypriot** architect, won the competition.

The square is the main venue for campaigns by nongovernmental organizations (NGOs)—from the Association of the Relatives of the **Missing**, which raises a tree every Christmas decorated with yellow ribbons, one for every Greek Cypriot missing since 1974, to the yearly Radio Marathon charity campaign that collects money for children. It is also a popular venue for staging demonstrations and political events.

**ENOSIS.** The Greek word *enosis* literally means union. However, *enosis* is commonly used to refer to the long-standing aspiration of **Greek Cypriots** for union with **Greece**. Greek Cypriots constitute approximately 80 percent of the Cypriot population and are therefore, the largest ethnic group on the island. Greeks and Greek-Cypriots share the same **language**, **religion**, and traditions, and the desire for *enosis* is centuries old.

**Great Britain** ceded the Ionian Islands to Greece in 1864, and although the British did not govern Cyprus at that point, the move set a precedent that encouraged Greek Cypriot hopes for *enosis*. In 1947, the Dodecanese Islands were also ceded to Greece. To many, the realization of *enosis* was seen as only a matter of time.

Upon **Sir Garnet Wolseley**'s arrival in Cyprus in July 1878, the archbishop of Kition greeted him with a request that Britain hand over the island to Greece. The early years of **British rule** witnessed numerous protests for *enosis*. In 1915, Britain offered Cyprus to Greece as an incentive to join the side of the Triple Entente in **World** 

**War I.** Although Greece did join the war effort in 1917, Britain claimed that it was too late and that the offer had lapsed.

On 21 October 1931, the bishop of Kition declared union with Greece (pro-*enosis* agitation), which resulted in the burning down of Government House. The British administration acted swiftly by deporting the chief *enosists* (two bishops and two communist party leaders).

**World War II** aroused concern that the Germans might attempt to capture Cyprus and formally cede it to Greece as a propaganda exercise. The British **Foreign** Office floated the idea that a public declaration be made stating that at the end of hostilities Britain would consider ceding Cyprus to Greece with the provision that Britain retained **military** bases on the island. The Colonial Office, the official administrator of the island, vetoed this idea.

In January 1950, the newly elected archbishop of Cyprus, **Makarios III**, organized a plebiscite to determine the Greek Cypriot population's views regarding the island's future. Of those polled, 95.7 percent voted in favor of *enosis* with Greece. Civil servants did not participate in the plebiscite.

Following the plebiscite, Makarios began to actively campaign for *enosis* by sending delegations abroad to raise the issue with foreign governments. In 1954, Greek Prime Minister **Alexandros Papagos** raised the issue at the **United Nations**. But in July 1954, in a speech given at the House of Commons, **Henry Hopkinson** stated that "certain territories in the Commonwealth . . . could *never* expect to be fully independent."

The year 1955 witnessed the emergence of anticolonial action instigated by the **National Organization of Cypriot Fighters** (EOKA). EOKA demanded *enosis* with no compromise and only ceased its activities in 1959. The British administration responded with emergency laws, closing down schools, curfews, detention without trial, and so forth. **Turkey** was encouraged to demand more rights for **Turkish Cypriots**.

On 9 March 1956, Archbishop Makarios and three close associates were exiled by the British administration to the Seychelles. Upon their release in 1957, Makarios took up residence in Athens, where he was in closer contact with the Greek **government**. **Independence**, achieved in 1960, was regarded by many Greek Cypriots as a compromise to *enosis*. In August 1960, Makarios signed the London-Zurich Agreements, and the independence constitution outlawed both *enosis* and *taksim* (partition). *See also* BRITISH RULE; MEGHALI IDEA.

- **EOKA.** See NATIONAL ORGANIZATION OF CYPRIOT FIGHT-ERS.
- **EOKA B.** See NATIONAL ORGANIZATION OF CYPRIOT FIGHT-ERS B.
- **EPISKOPI.** A village located on the southwestern coast of Cyprus, between the cities of **Paphos** and **Limassol**. Episkopi is situated on a rise close to **Kourion**. The area has long been an **agricultural** area due to its fertile soil. Crops grown in the area include citrus fruits, vegetables, vine crops, and cereals. In its early history, cotton and sugar cane were also grown in the area. A substantial portion of the region falls under the jurisdiction of the **British Sovereign Base Areas (SBAs)**. RAF **Akrotiri** and **Episkopi** garrison are both located in this area.

There are numerous **archeological** sites close to Episkopi. In addition to ancient Kourion, to the southeast lie both the settlement (middle Bronze Age) and necropolis (end of early Bronze Age) of Faneromeni. Another settlement, Pamboula, which lies to the east on the upper slopes of the rise, has been dated to the Early Bronze Age. The necropolis of Kaloriziki is as yet the largest unearthed necropolis to be found in the area. The famous Mycenaean golden scepter of Kourio was found in a tomb dating back to the 12th century BC. The necropolis of Agios Ermogenis, to the southwest, is the site of a great number of tombs. Recent excavations close to the tomb of St. Ermogenis, which lies in the chapel, unearthed a burial monument that was probably a royal tomb.

ERCAN INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT. Ercan International Airport, or Tymvou, as it is referred to in Greek, is located northeast of Nicosia close to the village of Tymvou. Ercan is the principal airport of entry into the "Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC)"; however, it is not internationally recognized as a legal port of entry

### 60 • EROGLU, DERVIS

into Cyprus because it is not under the control of the recognized **government** of the island. Any entry through this airport constitutes illegal entry into the **Republic of Cyprus**. Flights originating from overseas are required to touch down in **Turkey** before continuing to Ercan International Airport.

EROGLU, DERVIS (1938–). The chairman of the National Unity Party (NUP) since 1983; he was re-elected to that capacity at the 1986, 1988, 1990, 1992, and 1994 party congresses. He served as "minister" of Education, Culture, Youth and Sports during 1976– 1977, entering the Turkish Cypriot "Assembly" of the then "Turkish Federated State of Northern Cyprus (TFSC)." In November 1983, he served as a member of the de facto "Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC)" Constituent "Assembly." The "TRNC" was deemed illegal by the United Nations upon its establishment by the Turkish Cypriot leadership in 1983. As the leader of the National Unity Party, he was appointed as "prime minister" of the "TRNC" in four successive administrations between 1985 and 1993, subsequently leading the main opposition party between 1994 and 1996 (see also "HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES," TURKISH-ADMINISTERED AREA).

Following the resignation of the **Democratic Party-Republican Turkish Party (DP-RTP)** coalition "government" on 4 July 1996, Eroglu was given the job of forming a new **government**. With the approval of the "**president**," on 16 August 1996 (*see* "PRESIDENT," TURKISH-ADMINISTERED AREA) Dervis Eroglu assumed the post of "prime minister" in the NUP-DP coalition. In 2004, his party lost the general election to the **RTP** under **Mehmet Ali Talat**, but regained its leading position in the 2009 elections.

# ESTABLISHMENT, TREATY OF. See CYPRUS PROBLEM.

# ΕUROPEAN DEMOCRACY (EURO.DE)/EVROPAIKI DIMOKRA-TIA (EURO.DE)/EYPΩΠΑΪΚΗ ΔΗΜΟΚΡΑΤΙΑ (EYPO.ΔΗ).

A **Greek Cypriot** center-right party founded in 2004. EURO.DE supports a solution based on the **Constitution** for **Europe** and the Charter of Fundamental Rights.

EURO.DE secured 10.8 percent of the votes (1 of 6 seats) in the 13 June 2004 elections for the European **Parliament**. In the **parliamentary elections** of 2006, the party received 1,844 votes or 0.44 percent of the vote, with no seats.

**EUROPEAN PARTY (EVRO.KO)**/*EVROPAIKO KOMMA (EVRO. KO)*/*EYPΩΠAΪKO KOMMA (EYPO.K'O)*. A Greek Cypriot party formed in 2005 when the European Democracy Party (EURO.DE) merged with the New Horizons Party (NE.O). In the parliamentary elections of 2006, EVRO.KO received 24,196 votes (5.75 percent) and won three of the 56 seats. EVRO.KO is a member of the centrist European Democratic Party (EDP) founded on 9 December 2004 in Brussels.

EUROPEAN UNION (EU). A union of 27 European countries formed to maintain peace on the continent, bolster Europe's economic performance, and enhance its political influence. The Republic of Cyprus joined the European Union (EU) on 1 May 2004, becoming the bloc's southeastern Mediterranean frontier. Because of the ongoing Cyprus problem, the northern, occupied sector does not enjoy the advantages of EU membership. The Republic of Cyprus is represented by one commissioner on the European Commission and six Members of the European Parliament (MEPs). Cyprus also has four votes in the Council of Ministers, which is the EU's policy-making body.

Cyprus will be a member of the European Union's rapid reaction force, and it will support regional crisis management and peacekeeping operations of the EU force regarding logistics and auxiliary service. However, in view of the proposal to demilitarize the island, Cyprus will not supply either troops or artillery.

Some of the EU programs extending to Cyprus are MEDA (aiming to further the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership), LIFE (toward environmental protection), COST (promoting cooperation in research and technology), LEONARDO (designed for vocational training), and SOCRATES (advancement of education).

Cyprus adopted the euro on 1 January 2008.

EVAGORAS, KING OF SALAMIS (410–374 BC). Evagoras was a descendant of the line of Teucer, who is thought to have founded

**Salamis** and whose descendants ruled the city for a prolonged period under Persia. However, at the time of Evagoras's birth, Salamis was under the control of a **Phoenician**, who was overthrown by the time Evagoras had reached maturity. He then killed the usurper to his hereditary throne and went on to become the most notable ruler of Salamis.

According to his panegyrist, Isocrates, Evagoras's rule was distinguished by its mildness and policies aimed at the prosperity of his subjects. The king is also known for strengthening the relationship with **Greece** and promotion of Hellenism in Cyprus. Politically, he strengthened the power of his subject city by forming a powerful fleet. Thrasydaeus, a eunuch, assassinated Evagoras in 374 BC together with his eldest son Pnytagoras; Evagoras was succeeded by his other son, Nicocles. During his rule, Evagoras managed to gain control over the entire island of Cyprus and won independence from the **Persian** Empire.

### – F –

FAMAGUSTA. (Greek: Ammochostos or Varosha, Turkish: Gazimağusa or Mağusa). Famagusta is a town on the east coast of Cyprus sitting in a bay between Cape Greco and Cape Eloea. It has the deepest natural harbor on the island. Since 1974, Famagusta has lain within the boundaries of the de facto "Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC)," deemed illegal by the United Nations (UN) and recognized only by Turkey.

Famagusta was founded in 300 BC and for a considerable period remained a small fishing village. During **Lusignan** rule, because of its natural harbor, Famagusta became increasingly significant in the Eastern **Mediterranean** region and developed into a town. It became a center of commerce between East and West in the 13th century. In 1372, Famagusta came under the rule of the Genoese, who were replaced in 1489 by the **Venetians**. This had the effect of increasing commercial activity in the **port** and the construction of impressive and varied architecture. The affluence of merchants could be observed in the quality and quantity of churches built by them, which gave Famagusta, prior to the **Ottoman rule**, the unofficial title of "the district of churches."

Serfdom was abolished under the Ottoman rule and the land, which had previously belonged to the Venetian nobility, became an Ottoman possession. Ottomans brought over many immigrants from Central Anatolia, a great number of whom settled in Famagusta. Under Turkish influence, the town acquired a new look—some changes were made to existing buildings, the main cathedral was turned into **Lala Mustafa Pasha Mosque**, and the bazaar and marketplace were developed. Theological schools, **baths**, and fountains were built, and the city expanded outside the city walls.

After Cyprus was colonized by **Great Britain** (1878–1960), the enlargement of the town continued, with the Turkish population settling mostly inside the city walls and the Greeks in lower and upper **Varosha**. The town expanded to include new residential districts with commercial and recreational facilities. As a result, by the end of **British rule**, Famagusta had developed into a modern colonial port town. In the aftermath of World War II, about 50,000 European Jews, who were trying to emigrate to Palestine, then under British mandate, assembled in Famagusta in two British internment camps.

From the time Cyprus gained **independence** in 1960 until Famagusta was occupied by the Turkish forces in 1974, the city underwent rapid expansion both culturally and **economically** and developed into a popular **tourist** destination. During the 1974 Turkish **invasion** and amid aerial bombing, **Greek Cypriots** evacuated Famagusta. The Varosha area was fenced off by the Turkish army and has since become known as the "ghost-city," as it can only be accessed by the Turkish **military** and **United Nations** (**UN**) personnel. The other areas of Famagusta remain inhabited by the **Turkish Cypriot** population. Before 1974, the population of the town was 39,000; 26,500 were Greek Cypriots, 8,500 were Turkish Cypriots, and 4,000 were from minorities. Today the population is approximately 39,000, not including the Greek Cypriot legal inhabitants.

The **Annan Plan** intended that Famagusta be returned to Greek Cypriots and the **port** of Famagusta be reopened for both communities. The Turkish Cypriot authorities are reportedly planning to reopen the Varosha area to tourism by 2010. *See also* FAMAGUSTA GATE; OTHELLO'S TOWER; VENETIAN RULE.

- **FAMAGUSTA GATE.** One of three gates through **Nicosia's Venetian Walls**, built between 1567 and 1570. The gate was originally called *Porta Guiliana*, in honor of the engineer who built it. It was also known as *Porta di Sotto* (lower gate) because it is almost a subterranean passage. After a period of disuse, the gate has recently been renovated and is now used as a cultural center, hosting exhibitions, performances, and talks. *See also* KYRENIA GATE; PAPHOS CASTLE.
- **FEUDAL SYSTEM.** The feudal system was commonplace throughout medieval Europe and is associated with the **Lusignan period** (1192–1481) of **Cyprus** history. Under this system, peasants were prohibited from leaving the land they worked and were subject to harsh taxes. Land was divided among nobles, knights, and barons, while the masses were reduced to serfdom. There were three classes of serf: *paroikoi*, *perperiari*, and *lefteri*.

The *paroiki* were the lowest class of serf and as such subject to the harshest conditions. In addition to an annual tax, their master was also entitled to one-third of their crop and demanded two days' labor each week. *Perperiari* were of slightly higher status and many had originally been *paroiki*. This class of serf was subject to landshare. The *lefteri* were freemen. However, they were still obligated to deliver between one-fifth and one-tenth of their crops to the master.

FIGHTING DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT (ADIK)/AGONIS-TIKO DEMOCRATIKO KINIMA (ADIK)/A $\Gamma\Omega$ NI $\Sigma$ TIKO AHMOKPATIKO KINHMA (A $\Delta$ HK). ADIK is a center-right Greek Cypriot party led by former Democratic Party (DIKO) member Dinos Michaelides. The party was founded in March 1999 and supports the **independence** and unity of the island and the United Nations resolutions as a basis for a settlement. In the parliamentary elections of 27 May 2001, ADIK received 2.16 percent of the votes, thus securing one seat in the House of Representatives.

**FLAG.** Before **independence** in 1960, the flags used on the island were those of **Greece** and **Turkey**. The national flag of Cyprus was designed in 1960 in a public contest won by İsmet Güney, a **Turkish** 

**Cypriot** painter. Güney's design was chosen by **Archbishop Makarios III**, the **president** of the **Republic**, and received the approval of **Fazil Kuchuk**, the vice president.

The guidelines drawn up for the creation of the new flag stipulated that the flag should not include the colors blue or red, which are the predominant colors of the flags of Greece and Turkey, respectively, nor should it portray a cross or a crescent. The background of the design is white and features a map of the island above two olive-green olive branches. Both the white background and use of olive branches symbolize peace. The color of the map of the island is copper yellow and was used to signify the copper ore deposits to be found on the island (*see* MINING). Cyprus is currently one of only two countries to display its land area on its flag, and until the Republic of Kosovo adopted its current flag, the Cypriot one was unique in its design.

In 1983, following the **Unilateral Declaration of Independence** (**UDI**), the Turkish Cypriot leadership created a separate flag to represent their community. The white flag with a red crescent mirrored that of Turkey. Had the **Annan Plan** been adopted, a new national flag would have been created by the United Cyprus Republic incorporating both blue and red to signify Greece and Turkey and also a large copper-yellow band to represent Cyprus.

**FOLK ART MUSEUMS.** There are several folk art museums on the island, in **Nicosia**, **Kyrenia**, **Limassol**, Avgorou, and Geroskipou. All aim to preserve and promote knowledge of the traditional Cypriot way of life by displaying traditional examples of folk art in an authentically re-created environment.

The Folk Art Museum in the town of **Kyrenia** was established in 1974. The building that houses the museum is a fine example of a typical Cypriot house and has been dated to the 17th century. The rooms of the museum are spread over two floors, and the main entrance opens onto Kyrenia harbor. Displays at the museum center around local folk art and handicrafts, and efforts have been made to re-create the ambiance of a traditional house. At one point, the museum also displayed a number of silver items; however, following the events of 1974, all the silver objects housed in the museum were stolen.

### 66 • FOOT, SIR HUGH MACKINTOSH

On the ground floor, the museum houses a selection of traditional farming equipment and other implements from times gone by, such as an oil-mill, a large earthenware fan, and a workbench. On the upper floor, there is a selection of local handicrafts including crochet work, embellished materials, bedspreads, tablecovers, scarves, and pottery and kitchenware, such as water jugs, wooden mortars, wine bowls, and ceramic bowls. A bedroom has been re-created in the third and largest room—a wooden bed, cupboard, cabinet (containing various pieces of clothing), and other pieces of furniture are on display.

In Avgorou, the Pierides Foundation cooperated with the Avgorou Community council to renovate a fine example of traditional architecture, which functions as the Avgorou-Pierides Foundation Folk Art Museum. The museum houses important pieces from the Pierides Foundation as well as items from local inhabitants. Items include furniture, priceless textiles and embroidery, silverware, and pottery.

**FOOT, SIR HUGH MACKINTOSH (1907–1990).** Colonial secretary of Cyprus from 1943 to 1945 and Cyprus's last **British** governor from 1957 to 1960. The son of a Liberal member of Parliament (MP) in **Great Britain**, Foot graduated from St. John's College, Cambridge in 1929 and entered the civil service. He held many administrative posts overseas, including Palestine (1929–1937), Transjordan (1939–1943), Cyrenaica (1943), Jamaica (1945–1947), and Nigeria (1947–1950).

After the **London-Zurich Agreements** were signed in February 1959, Foot was instrumental in guiding Cyprus to full **independence** in August 1960. He was made a life peer in 1964 and took the title of Baron Caradon. In 1964 his autobiography, *A Start in Freedom*, was published. From 1964 until 1970, Foot held the post of British permanent representative to the **United Nations**. *See also* BRITISH RULE.

**FOREIGN POLICY.** Cyprus's foreign policy since **independence** is based on the membership in the nonaligned movement and at the same time fostering closer ties with Europe. Accordingly, it steadfastly refused to join the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and maintained cordial relations with the former Soviet Union. The existence and popularity of the **Progressive Party of the Working**  **People** (**AKEL**) on the island, with which **Makarios** collaborated, had also produced the impression in Washington that the Cypriot archbishop was in fact a "red priest" or the "Castro of the Mediterranean."

However, as a young state, Cyprus was naturally inexperienced in the formulation and execution of foreign policy. Makarios's mistaken perception of the impact of his 13 proposals in 1963, his misreading of the U.S. deterrent policy as far as Turkey's action on Cyprus was concerned, and his belief that he could successfully steer an independent course of policy without any serious repercussions proved tragically wrong for Cyprus and the Cypriots. On the whole, in the aftermath of the 1974 events and the Turkish invasion, Cyprus's foreign policy hardly exceeded anything more than reactions to international developments that might have affected the island. The most successful foreign policy, however, in the history of the island since independence, came in the shape of its application to join the European Union (EU) as a full member. This was a policy that, despite speculation by many pundits and statesmen to the contrary, eventually came to fruition and resulted in full membership in the European Union in 2004. Ever since, the island's foreign policy has followed the European Union line. See also GREAT BRITAIN; GREECE; UNITED NATIONS.

# FRANKISH RULE. See LUSIGNAN PERIOD.

- FREEDOM AND REFORM PARTY (FRP)/OZGURLUK VE RE-FORM PARTISI (ORP). Formed in 2006 by four members of "parliament" (see "HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES," TURKISH-ADMINISTERED AREA) drawn from the National Unity Party (NUP) and the Democratic Party (DP). The party is currently the junior coalition partner in the de facto "Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC)" government. Turgay Avci is the party's leader and holds the post of "deputy prime minister" and "minister of foreign affairs" in the "TRNC" cabinet. In the 2009 elections, the party secured 6.2 percent of the votes (two seats).
- **FRIENDS OF CYPRUS.** A **British** all-party **parliamentary** group founded in the aftermath of the 1974 **coup d'état** and **invasion**. The group aims to promote, both in **Great Britain** and internationally,

the need for a just and workable solution to the **Cyprus problem**. Currently, Friends of Cyprus boasts members from both the House of Commons and the House of Lords at Westminster and the **European** Parliament, as well as individuals with knowledge and expertise on Cyprus.

# – G –

GOBBI INITIATIVE. Devised by Hugo Gobbi, Special Representative to Cyprus of United Nations (UN) Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim, the plan was initiated on 22 October 1981 and was presented to the parties on 18 November 1981. Although the Gobbi Initiative was unsuccessful, it is noteworthy because it became the basis for later negotiations between October 1981 and January 1993. UN Secretary-General Perez de Cuellar hosted top-level meetings with Spyros Kyprianou and Rauf Denktash in Geneva in April 1982. The Gobbi Initiative encouraged negotiations that dealt with issues such as resettlement of Varosha, promotion of goodwill gestures, and other territorial issues.

The main drawback was considered to be the nature of federation and interpretation of bizonality. All deliberations were conducted behind closed doors. "Points of equidistance" (median position on various subjects) and "points of coincidence" (on which there was approximate coincidence of views) were drawn up. Around the same time, however, the "Assembly" of the **"Turkish Federated State of Cyprus (TFSC)**" (*see* "HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES," TURK-ISH-ADMINISTERED AREA), under pressure from Denktash, unilaterally declared the establishment of the **"Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC)**" (*see* UNILATERAL DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE). The UN secretary-general stressed that this was contrary to the resolutions of the Security Council. *See also* CY-PRUS PROBLEM; UNITED NATIONS.

### GOVERNMENT HOUSE. See PRESIDENTIAL PALACE.

**GOVERNMENT STRUCTURE.** Since 1960, Cyprus has been a sovereign **independent republic**, governed by a presidential system.

The president of the Republic, elected by universal suffrage for a five-year term, is the head of state. The country practices a multiparty system of democracy through proportional representation. The president of the Republic appoints the members of the council of ministers, which is the executive organ of the Republic. The president and the council of ministers are the general administrative body that check the governing of the Republic of Cyprus, coordinate and supervise the public services, and process the budget and the bills before they are sent to the House of Representatives, where legislative power is exercised. Seats in the House are allocated on the results of parliamentary elections, and elected members hold office for a period of five years. The 1960 constitution stated that 70 percent of seats should be allocated to Greek Cypriots and 30 percent to Turkish Cypriots. Originally, there were 50 seats in the legislative body in a 35:15 ratio for Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots, respectively. When the number of seats increased from 50 to 80, the same percentage was maintained. While 56 seats are occupied by Greek Cypriots, the remaining 24 belonging to the Turkish Cypriot community remain vacant because of the Turkish Cypriot members' withdrawal in 1963. Maronites, Armenians, and Latins also have representation in the House. One representative from each minority is elected by his/her community for a five-year term. Although these representatives are entitled to attend House plenary meetings, they are only permitted to speak about issues concerning their religious group and have no right to vote.

**GREAT BRITAIN.** In 1878, the **Ottomans** and the **British**, seeking to establish a strong alliance against the Russians, came to an agreement whereby Britain was obliged to come to the aid of the Ottomans should the latter be attacked by Russia. In return, the sultan ceded the administration of the island of Cyprus to Britain. During **World War I**, in response to the Ottomans joining Germany, Britain annexed the island, and in 1925 Cyprus officially became a Crown colony.

In the 1950s **Greek Cypriots**, the larger community on the island (80%), wished for *enosis*, union with **Greece**. The British government, however, was unwilling to accommodate that. After much chagrin and violence, an agreement was reached in 1959 to grant

#### 70 • GREECE

**independence** to Cyprus while Britain would retain sovereignty over two **base areas** and keep a number of other **military** installations on the island. This was deemed essential for British interests, particularly in light of their losing control of the Suez Canal in 1956. Since the outbreak of intercommunal violence in December 1963 and the subsequent dispatch of the **United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP)**, Britain has been the largest troop contributor to the force.

Many criticize Britain for not having taken resolute action in 1974, as a guarantor power, to prevent the division of the island in line with its obligation under the Treaty of Guarantee. However, Britain, as expressed by **James Callaghan**, then British foreign secretary, could only act in unison with the **United States**, which at the time seemed preoccupied with the Watergate issue in Washington and was unwilling to turn the screws on **Turkey** in a sufficiently powerful manner.

Some believe that Britain adopted the policy of divide and rule in Cyprus, but others disagree, stating that the two communities have had deep differences over their views on history and identity formation. Britain was very much in favor of the **Annan Plan** and was believed to have had a strong hand in drafting it. An overwhelming majority of Greek Cypriots rejected the plan. *See also* FOREIGN POLICY.

**GREECE.** One of the guarantor powers of the 1960 **Constitution** and the country with which the majority of Cypriots (**Greek Cypriots**) wished to unify Cyprus (*enosis*). Also, under the terms of the Treaty of **Alliance** arrived in 1959, Greece was allowed to keep 950 **military** personnel on the island. Toward the end of Cyprus's colonial phase in the 1950s, Greece presented the Cyprus issue to the **United Nations** General Assembly as a case of selfdetermination. This was resented both by **Great Britain**, the colonial ruler, as well as the **United States** for the exposure of what was considered a Western problem to the international arena, where the former Soviet Union could further exploit it for propaganda purposes.

In 1963, Greece advised against the 13 amendments **Makarios** proposed, but the Cypriot **president** did not heed its views. However, Greece did send around 10,000 troops to the island in 1964, which only three years later, under the threat of Turkish military action, was

forced to withdraw. The military Junta in power in Greece from 1967 to 1974 tried hard to reach an accord with **Turkey** over Cyprus but was strongly resisted by Makarios, whose relations with Athens at the time had reached a low ebb. Finally, on 15 July 1974, the Greek generals staged an anti-Makarios **coup d'état** in Cyprus and deposed the **government**. However, despite plans to have Makarios killed, he managed to escape with the aid of the British. The coup was short lived as Turkey, invoking the Treaty of Guarantee, **invaded** the island. As a result, the puppet regime in **Nicosia** collapsed together with its military supporters in Athens. Events in Cyprus had served as a catalyst for change in Greece. Upon the return of democracy to the country, Greece temporarily withdrew from the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), thereby saving its dignity in the face of the Alliance's unwillingness to pressure Ankara for withdrawal of its troops from Cyprus.

The most important help Greece has given Cyprus, however, must be seen in its unequivocal support of Cyprus's application for membership in the **European Union (EU)**. Athens had threatened to veto all 10 new applicant countries in 2003 if Cyprus was refused entry. This was perhaps the most decisive factor in favor of Cyprus's application, which was facing strong resistance in light of the occupation of part of its territory by Turkey, a country the EU did not wish to offend. Greece also did not seem to share the negative stance of Cyprus's former president, **Tassos Papadopoulos**, on the **Annan Plan**.

Greece's policy over Cyprus has been viewed with a degree of skepticism by some, stating that Athens used Cyprus in the past as a bargaining chip in its disputes with Ankara. But there is no doubt that the Greek Cypriots share much with the Greeks in terms of culture, **language**, and **religion**. *See also* FOREIGN POLICY.

**GREEK CYPRIOTS.** The majority community in Cyprus, comprising around 80 percent of the population and numbering around 750,000. Greek Cypriots speak Greek, though with a distinct Cypriot dialect, and belong to the Greek Orthodox **Church of Cyprus**. They consider **Greece** their motherland and identify with Greek culture and history.

During the anticolonial struggle of the 1950s in Cyprus, Greek Cypriots formed the **National Organization of Cypriot Fighters**  (EOKA), which did not seek **independence** but *enosis*, union with Greece. **Turkish Cypriots** responded with a counter-demand for *taksim*, partition of the island between Greece and **Turkey**. Eventually, however, after arduous negotiations leading to the **London-Zurich Agreements**, both *enosis* and *taksim* were excluded; instead an independent **Republic of Cyprus** was born in 1960. The new **constitu-tion** devised a power-sharing mechanism between the two communities, which proved difficult and unworkable almost from the start.

After much intercommunal strife in the 1960s and the Greekstaged **coup d'état** and the Turkish **invasion** of the island in 1974, the two communities were forcibly separated and have lived in different parts of the island ever since: Greek Cypriots in the south and Turkish Cypriots in the north. The de facto administration of Turkish Cypriots is not recognized internationally and only the **government** of Cyprus, now manned only by Greek Cypriots, is acknowledged as the legal representative of the state of Cyprus. There are continuous efforts to reunify the island. *See also* CYPRUS PROBLEM; FOR-EIGN POLICY; GREAT BRITAIN; UNITED NATIONS.

# GREEK ORTHODOX CHURCH. See CHURCH OF CYPRUS.

**GREEN LINE.** The term *Green Line* or ceasefire line is commonly used to refer to the **buffer zone**, patrolled by the **United Nations** Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP), which divides the island in two. The term originated in 1964 when Major-General Peter Young, the commander of a pre-UNFICYP peace force, drew a cease-fire line on a map of the island with a green pencil. Following the events of 1974, the Green Line became impassable (see COUP D'ETAT; INVASION). The Turkish military advanced from the north until they met the Green Line and occupied 37 percent of the island. The Green Line also became known as the Attila Line; Operation Attila was the code name for the Turkish military invasion. In 1983, a Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) was made and the de facto "Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC)" established. From that point onward the Green Line became a barrier dividing the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities. See also "TURKISH FEDER-ATED STATE OF CYPRUS."

**GRIVAS, GEORGIOS (1898–1974).** Leader of the National Organization of Cypriot Fighters (EOKA). The principal aim of EOKA was to liberate Cyprus from colonial rule so that *enosis* (union with Greece) would be achieved. Born in the village of Trikomo, Cyprus, Grivas studied at the Hellenic Army Academy and became a Greek Army officer. He returned to Cyprus in 1950. His nom de guerre was Dhigenis, after Dhigenis Akritas the legendary hero of many folk songs who was supposedly a member of the elite Akrites, the border guards of the **Byzantine** Empire.

Cyprus gained **independence** in 1960 and ratified a **constitution** that made EOKA's goal of *enosis* an impossibility. Under the agreement, Grivas had to leave Cyprus and return to **Greece**. In December 1963, hostilities broke out between **Greek** and **Turkish Cypriots**. Grivas returned to Cyprus as supreme **military** commander of the island. He left Cyprus again in 1967.

Grivas returned secretly in August 1971 to head up the successor to EOKA, **EOKA B**. *Enosis* with Greece was once again his main objective, and he met with **Archbishop Makarios III** to discuss the issue. They failed to reach an agreement and Grivas, backed by the Greek military junta, proceeded with plans to overthrow Makarios.

Grivas died on 27 January 1974. He is buried in the garden of the house that was his last hideout during the EOKA campaign of 1955–1959. Makarios was temporarily overthrown just six months after Grivas's death in a Greek junta-backed **coup d'état**. *See also* AFXENTIOU, GREGORIS PIERIS; BRITISH RULE; KOFINOU INCIDENT; KOKKINA.

**GUARANTEE, TREATY OF.** *See* COUP D'ETAT; CYPRUS PROBLEM; INVASION.

GYANI, LIEUTENANT GENERAL P. S. The first commander of the United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP). On 13 January 1964, United Nations (UN) Secretary-General U Thant received a request from the British government, supported by the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities of Cyprus, for UN intervention on the island. On 4 March 1964, following discussions among all parties concerned, Resolution 186 was adopted, setting up the UNFICYP. The resolution provided a three-month trial period and called for the appointment of a mediator. General P. S. Gyani was appointed the commander of UNFICYP on 6 March 1964. Previously, he had commanded both the United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF) and the UN Yemen Observation Mission.

Due to political and financial difficulties with troop-contributing governments, the force did not come into operation immediately. UNFICYP's three-month mandate began on 27 March 1964. Sufficient troops had arrived by then to enable it to fulfill its functions. UNFICYP is still present on the island.

### – H –

HADJIGEORGAKIS, KORNESIOS. Dragoman (interpreter) for the Divan (Council) of the sultan between 1779 and 1809. The dragoman was usually a Christian from the local community appointed by the Ottoman authorities. Hadjigeorgakis spent a portion of his wealth on the construction of a mansion in the upper-class Ayios Antonios area of Nicosia, close to the Archbishop's Palace. The prestige of his position brought him wealth and influence, but also many enemies, who eventually succeeded in having him beheaded on 31 March 1809 in Istanbul.

Recent renovations carried out on the mansion attracted the Europa Nostra Prize for exemplary renovation work. Today, the mansion functions as the Cyprus Ethnological Museum. The Hadjigeorgakis Kornesios Mansion is the most important surviving example of urban architecture from the final century of Ottoman rule. *See also* DRAGOMAN HADJIGEORGAKIS MUSEUM OF CULTURE.

HANNAY, LORD DAVID HUGH ALEXANDER (1935–). Born in London and educated at Winchester College and New College, Oxford, Hannay entered the Foreign and Commonwealth Office in 1959 and served as a **British** diplomat for 36 years until his retirement in 1995. His years of service included posts as Britain's Permanent Representative to the **European** Community (EC) and then to the **United Nations**. Hannay was **Great Britain**'s Special Representative for Cyprus from 1996 until 2003. See also GREAT BRITAIN. HARDING, SIR JOHN (1896–1989). Born Allan Francis John Harding in South Petherton, Somerset, England, Harding joined the Territorial Army in 1911 and was called up as a regular during World War I. During World War II, he saw action in North Africa and Italy before succeeding General Harold Alexander as commander of British Forces in the Mediterranean.

Between 1955 and 1957, Harding served as governor-general of Cyprus. His tenure coincided with the first two years of action by the National Organization of Cypriot Fighters (EOKA). Harding instituted a series of harsh measures to combat EOKA. The measures included curfews, closure of schools, press control, and the death penalty for anyone found in possession of weapons or incendiary devices. In addition to these measures, Harding also pursued a solution through negotiation. When talks with Archbishop Makarios III stalled, Harding exiled Makarios to the Seychelles in March 1956. EOKA attempted to assassinate Harding on 21 March 1956, but the bomb planted beneath his bed failed to go off. Makarios returned from the Seychelles on 19 June 1957 with documentary evidence of human rights violations that occurred during Harding's administration of the island. Upon his resignation on 22 October 1957, Harding was succeeded by Sir Hugh Foot. He was made a peer in 1958 and took the title of 1st Baron Harding of Petherton. See also BRITISH RULE.

- HELIOS AIRWAYS DISASTER. Flight ZU522, a Boeing 737–300 operated by Helios Airways (a Cypriot airline which has since ceased operations), crashed on 14 August 2005 at 12:04 EEST (Eastern European Summer Time) into a mountain north of Marathon and Varnavas, Greece (Grammatiko area), killing all 121 people on board (115 passengers and 6 crew). The tragedy is the worst such disaster in Greece and Cyprus. There is much controversy regarding the causes of the crash of Flight 522. The loss of cabin pressure and the resulting incapacitation of the flight crew due to hypoxia are, however, undisputed.
- **HERZL, THEODOR (1860–1904).** Hungarian-born lawyer, writer, and founder of modern political Zionism. Greatly affected by the anti-Semitism in Paris during the Dreyfus Affair (1890s) when a

### 76 • HIGH-LEVEL AGREEMENTS OF 1977 AND 1979

Jewish officer was accused of treason, Herzl created the Zionist Organization. He believed that the establishment of a Jewish state or homeland was the only satisfactory and permanent solution for the diaspora.

Herzl submitted a plan to British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain for the colonization of Cyprus, the Sinai Peninsula, and El Arish. He said, "Once we establish the Jewish Eastern Company with five million pounds capital, for settling Sinai and El Arish, the Cypriots will begin to want some of that golden rain on their island, too. The Moslems will move away, the Greeks will gladly sell their lands at a good price and migrate to Athens or Crete."

HIGH-LEVEL AGREEMENTS OF 1977 AND 1979. In January 1977, under the auspices of the United Nations (UN), the leaders of the two Cypriot communities, Archbishop Makarios III and Rauf Denktash, launched a round of discussions in Nicosia. In a major breakthrough in the intercommunal negotiations, a four-point agreement outlining the basis for a future Cyprus settlement was signed on 12 February 1977. The agreement consisted of the following guidelines:

- 1. We are seeking an **independent**, nonaligned, bicommunal, federal republic.
- 2. The territory under the administration of each community should be discussed in the light of economic viability or productivity and land ownership.
- 3. Questions of principles like freedom of movement, freedom of settlement, the right of property, and other specific matters are open for discussion taking into consideration the fundamental basis of a bicommunal federal system and certain practical difficulties which may arise for the **Turkish Cypriot** community.
- 4. The powers and functions of the central federal government will be such as to safeguard the unity of the country, having regard to the bicommunal character of the State.

After Archbishop Makarios's death on 3 August 1977, **Spyros Kyprianou** was elected **president**. In May 1979, UN Secretary-General **Kurt Waldheim** visited Cyprus and convened a high-level meeting calling for a resumption of intercommunal talks, which led to a second agreement signed between the new president and the Turkish Cypriot leader Rauf Denktash. In addition to re-affirming the 1977 High-Level Agreement, the new ten-point agreement included the following:

- 1. It was agreed to resume the intercommunal talks on 15 June 1979.
- 2. The basis for the talks will be the Makarios-Denktash Guidelines of 12 February 1977 and the UN resolutions relevant to the Cyprus question.
- 3. There should be respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms of all citizens of the **Republic**.
- 4. The talks will deal with all territorial and **constitutional** aspects.
- 5. Priority will be given to reaching agreement on resettlement of Varosha/Maraş under UN auspices simultaneously with the beginning of the consideration by the interlocutors of the constitutional and territorial aspects of a comprehensive settlement. After agreement has been reached, it will be implemented without awaiting the outcome of the discussion on other aspects of the Cyprus problem.
- 6. It was agreed to abstain from any action that might jeopardize the outcome of the talks, and special importance will be given to initial practical measures by both sides to promote mutual confidence and the return to normal conditions.
- 7. The demilitarization of the Republic of Cyprus is envisaged, all matters relating thereto will be discussed
- 8. The **independence**, sovereignty, territorial integrity, and nonalignment of the Republic should be adequately guaranteed against union in whole or in part with any other country or against any form of partition or secession.
- 9. The intercommunal talks will be carried out in a continuing and sustained manner, avoiding any delay.
- 10. The intercommunal talks will take place in Nicosia.

The 1977 and 1979 High-Level Agreements signified an important step toward progress and have since offered the foundation for further efforts toward a settlement. However, the then already deepened

### 78 • HOPKINSON, HENRY L.

division between the two parties prevented future progress of the settlement. While the Turkish Cypriots were inclined toward a loose, decentralized state structure based on political equality between the two communities, the **Greek Cypriots** favored a strong central **government**, more akin to a unitary state, with each community's political influence commensurate to its numerical size.

HOPKINSON, HENRY L. (1902–1996). British minister of state for colonial affairs from 1952 to 1955. On 28 July 1954, during a debate in the British House of Commons, Henry Hopkinson stated that the British government had decided to take a "fresh initiative" in the development of self-governing institutions in Cyprus, emphasizing that it did not contemplate "a change of sovereignty" on the island. He went on to announce the withdrawal of the 1948 constitutional proposals for Cyprus in favor of an alternative plan. He said, "It has always been understood and agreed that there are certain territories in the Commonwealth which, owing to their particular circumstances, can *never* expect to be fully independent." The use of the word *never* effectively sealed the fate of Hopkinson's alternative, and the fact that Hopkinson made no mention of *enosis* added to increasing tensions.

Hopkinson's statements antagonized Athens. Although Greek authorities did not encourage hostile reaction to the statements, they did not sanction it either. Reactions to Hopkinson's *never* included the issue of a postage stamp showing an inkblot on the column from *Hansard* (the record of Britain's parliamentary debates) that contained Hopkinson's *never* statement. One Greek state radio broadcast on 16 November 1954 called on all **Greek Cypriots** to reject the British constitutional proposals and to shame all the traitors who cooperated with British authorities. **Greece** presented the dispute to the **United Nations** General Assembly as a case of self-determination. *See also* BRITISH RULE.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, REPUBLIC OF CYPRUS. Based on the 1960 Constitution, the House of Representatives was to have 50 elected members, 35 (70%) of whom were to be Greek Cypriots and 14 (30%) Turkish Cypriots, all elected separately by their respective communities. After the intercommunal strife of 1963–1964, however, the Turkish Cypriots withdrew from the House in protest and ever since the House has functioned without them. There have been no legal impediments, however, to their return. On 20 June 1985, the House decided to increase the number of members from 50 to 80, keeping the same ratio as prescribed by the 1960 constitution, 56 Greek Cypriot (70%) and 24 (30%) Turkish Cypriot members.

All the functions and powers of the legislative branch are vested in the House. **Parliamentary elections** are held every five years, based on a simple proportional representation system. The House is presided over by a president elected by the members in the beginning of each parliamentary term by an absolute majority vote. The presidency of the House is the second highest office of the land, assuming the role of the **president** of the **Republic** in case of the latter's death in mid-term, until new elections can be held. The ordinary sessions of the House, held on Thursdays, are open to the public and last usually from nine to 10 months.

Religious minorities, **Armenians**, **Maronites**, and Latins are represented in the House through their elected members, who participate in plenary sessions and the House Standing Committee on Education, without, however, the right to vote. *See also* PRESIDENT, REPUBLIC OF CYPRUS.

"HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES," TURKISH-ADMINIS-TERED AREA. Following the Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) by the Turkish Cypriot leadership, the de facto "Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC)" was established in 1983. The United Nations (UN) condemned the UDI and declared the "TRNC" illegal. However, in the de facto Turkish Cypriot administration, the legislative organ, called "Assembly" or the "Legislative Assembly," has 50 elected members serving for five-year terms. The "council of ministers" is required to obtain the vote of confidence of the "Assembly," and should this prove impossible within a year, the "president" has the right to dissolve the "Assembly." The latter has the power to exercise control over the "council of ministers" and the "ministers," to discuss and approve bills in connection with the budget, and to decide whether death penalties imposed by the courts should be carried out. See also "PRESIDENT," TURKISH-ADMINISTERED AREA.

HUNT, SIR DAVID (1913–1998). British high commissioner to Cyprus from 1965 until 1967. Born in Durham, England, Sir David Hunt studied classics and ancient history at Oxford. He was a classical archeologist and polyglot. Hunt served during World War II and had a distinguished war record; he reached the rank of colonel after seven and a half years in the army. In 1947, he joined the diplomatic corps and served as Clement Attlee's and Winston Churchill's private secretary. He described Archbishop Makarios III as "a brilliant leader and statesman," and the two developed a friendship based on mutual regard and respect. Hunt was knighted in 1963 and retired from the diplomatic service in 1973 but continued his writing career, publishing two autobiographical books, *A Don at War* (1966), and *On the Spot: An Ambassador Remembers* (1975). See also BRITISH RULE.

## - I -

IACOVOU, GEORGE (1938–). Cyprus' foreign minister from 1993 to 1998 and from 2003 to 2006. Born in the village of Peristeronopigi,
 Famagusta District, Iacovou finished Famagusta Gymnasium and went on to study in London and Boston. From 1960 to 1964, he was employed in the private sector in Cyprus. Later, he worked in London for Price Waterhouse and British Rail. In 1972, Iacovou became director of the Cyprus Productivity Center, where he embarked upon introducing new management programs for educational advancement of business executives.

Iacovou's achievements include founding and directing the Service for the Relief and Rehabilitation of Displaced Persons as well as the Service for the Reactivation of Displaced Persons following the events of 1974. He also worked at the **United Nations** High Commission for Refugees in Geneva heading the Africa Department. Before returning to Cyprus in 1983, Iacovou was appointed ambassador of the **Republic of Cyprus** to the Federal Republic of Germany, simultaneously representing his country in Austria and Switzerland.

Iacovou entered the 1998 **presidential** elections as an independent candidate, but supported by the **Progressive Party of the Work-ing People (AKEL)** and the **Democratic Party (DIKO)**. He lost to

**Glafkos Clerides** in a closely contested election. Later, he was appointed high commissioner to the United Kingdom in October 2006. In the **government**, headed by **President Christofias**, Iacovou holds the post of presidential commissioner and is responsible for **inter-communal** negotiations between the two sides. *See also* FOREIGN POLICY.

- **ICON MUSEUM.** Located in **Kyrenia**, on the northern coast of Cyprus, the Icon Museum is housed within the former Greek Orthodox **Church** of Archangelos Michael built in 1860 with a view over Kyrenia. After restoration, in 1991, the church was reopened to the public as a museum. The exhibits include a large collection of icons from various churches of northern Cyprus dating from the 17th to the 19th centuries. The icons include Saint Luke with his ox and the beheading of St. John the Baptist.
- **INDEPENDENCE.** Cyprus gained independence on 16 August 1960 following the **London-Zurich Agreements**. **Great Britain** retained two sovereign base areas at **Akrotiri** and **Dhekelia**. The Guarantor powers were Great Britain, **Greece**, and **Turkey**. The Treaty of Guarantee, the Treaty of Alliance, and the Treaty of Establishment formed the basis for the 1960 **Constitution**. *See also* BRITISH RULE; CONSTITUTION; CYPRUS PROBLEM.
- **INONU, GENERAL ISMET (1884–1973).** The first premier of **Ataturk**'s newly established Republic of **Turkey**. Born in Izmir (Smyrna), Inonou graduated in 1906 from the Istanbul Artillery College. He served three terms as premier, 1923–1924, 1925–1937, and 1961–1965. Upon Ataturk's death in 1938, Inonou was elected president of the Turkish Republic and retained that position until 1950. He was a main protagonist in the 1930s push for Greco-Turkish friendship. In the 1960s, Inonou sought geographical separation of the **Greek Cypriot** and **Turkish Cypriot** communities.
- **INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS.** Although in general all negotiations between the two communities can be referred to as intercommunal talks, the 1968–1974 talks are familiarly known by this title. Four phases of talks were held over this period. The first phase (24)

#### 82 • INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS

June–28 August 1968) took place in Nicosia at the Ledra Palace Hotel. Both the Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots were represented at the talks, by Glafkos Clerides and Rauf Denktash, respectively. Osario Tafall, the special representative of the United Nations (UN) secretary-general, was also present. The talks had an open agenda although constitutional issues would take priority over the establishment of treaties. No agreement was reached during the first phase, at which local government had dominated the talks, but it was agreed that constitutional issues would be discussed further during the second phase of negotiations.

The second phase (29 August 1968–3 January 1969) of intercommunal talks took place, once again, in Nicosia. The Turkish Cypriot side agreed to make a number of concessions on the proviso that an agreement regarding local government could be reached. Denktash offered the concessions only if the powers and functions of local government were clearly defined in the constitution. The concessions offered by the Turkish Cypriot side included:

- The abolition of the vice president's right to a veto.
- A reduction in Turkish Cypriot participation in the government, civil service, and police force from 30 percent to a figure more representative of their population ratio (20%).
- The abolition of the requirement for separate majorities and acceptance of election of the speaker of the **House of Representa-***tives* on the basis of a simple majority.

**Makarios** believed that the constitution should not be the source of power for the local government. The proposals the Greek Cypriot side submitted regarding local government, according to Denktash, did "not offer a basis for negotiations." The second phase ended with no agreement although the two sides issued a statement listing the areas on which proposals had been exchanged.

The third phase of the talks (1969–1970, Nicosia) concentrated on local government. It became clear that no agreement could be reached. Denktash dropped his demands regarding local government but also withdrew other concessions made in earlier phases of the talks.

The fourth phase of the talks (21 September 1970–July 1974, Nicosia) was split into two parts. The first involved the two community representatives, Clerides and Denktash, and lasted a year. The

second part (reactivated intercommunal talks) started on 4 July 1972 and culminated prior to July 1974. Representatives from **Greece**, **Turkey**, and the UN, in addition to Clerides and Denktash, attended the second part of the fourth phase. Local government was once again the major issue. The Greek Cypriot side was unwilling to grant any concessions on local government as requested by the Turkish Cypriot side. The Turkish Cypriot wish for autonomy was central to their demands.

The intercommunal talks identified points of contention as well as areas of common ground. The issues of *enosis* and *taksim* were at the root of the two communities' concerns. The Greek Cypriot side feared that changes to the autonomy and authority of local government could lead to partition or *taksim*. The Turkish Cypriot side was concerned that the Greek Cypriots might still hope for *enosis* with Greece.

**INVASION.** On 20 July 1974, five days after a Greek junta staged a **coup d'état**, the Turkish **military** landed on the northern shores of the island, near **Kyrenia**, and invaded Cyprus on the pretext that the military incursion was a "peacekeeping operation" and in compliance with the 1960 Treaty of **Guarantee**. A cease-fire was declared on 23 July 1974, but by this time Turkish troops had captured 3 percent of the island and approximately 5,000 Greek Cypriots had fled their homes.

Shortly after the invasion, the Greek junta collapsed. Constantine Karamanlis was recalled from exile in Paris to form a new government in Greece. At the same time, in Cyprus, the speaker of the House of Representatives, Glafkos Clerides, assumed power from Nicos Sampson, the junta-installed president, until Archbishop Makarios III returned.

Despite the fact that talks were being held in Geneva and that there were signs of an agreement, the Turkish army mounted a second offensive. This second offensive contradicted Turkey's original assertion that it had intervened to restore **constitutional** order. At that point constitutional order had already been restored. When the Turkish offensive came to an end, 37 percent of the island was under occupation and has remained so to date.

**ISLAM.** The second largest **religion** on the island, it is mainly followed by the **Turkish Cypriot** community in the northern part of the island, numbering around 200,000 persons. Turkish Cypriots belong to the Sunni sect of Islam but are by and large secular in character. Religion plays no significant role in the political life of the Turkish Cypriots and is rather limited to specific social functions. The majority of Muslim religious leaders in the north receive a stipend from the Turkish Cypriot administration, sometimes related to the institution of *waqf*. Due to many years of peaceful coexistence in the past, members of both communities have learned to respect one another's religious traditions.

Though religion has played no role in the **Cyprus problem**, it may have contributed to it by not allowing interreligious marriages. However, after the experience of former Yugoslavia in the1990s, one cannot be certain if intermarriage could heal historical rifts between peoples.

The **Cyprus problem** has never been portrayed by Turkish Cypriots or **Turkey** as a religious problem. Nor has it been presented or viewed by any other Islamic country in that light.

# – J –

- JOHNSON, LYNDON (1908–1973). President of the United States from 1963 to 1968. In December 1963, the presence of Turkish military jets over Cyprus seemed to indicate impending military action. On 5 June 1964, President Johnson, in a letter to President Ismet Inonu of **Turkey**, warned against such moves in Cyprus. Johnson appointed former Secretary of State Dean Acheson as an unofficial arbitrator with the task of finding a solution to the **Cyprus problem**, which would, simultaneously, satisfy **Greece** and Turkey and help maintain stability in the southeastern flank of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). In December 1963, the **Acheson Plan** was put forward, but to no avail.
- **JUSTINIAN II** (AD 669–711). The last **Byzantine** emperor, a member of the Heraclian Dynasty, Justinian was the first-born son of Emperor Constantine IV. In 681, Emperor Constantine associated Justinian II with the throne and the two governed the empire jointly

until 685 when, at the age of 16, Justinian II succeeded his father as sole emperor.

Following the division of the Roman Empire in 395, Cyprus **had** come under **Byzantine rule**. The direct rule of Constantinople over the island was interrupted in 688 when, in an unusual move, Justinian II and Caliph Abd al-Malik agreed to proclaim it a neutral land. For almost 300 years, Cyprus was a kind of codominion (joint authority) of the Byzantine Empire and the Caliphate, frequently raided by Arabs. In spite of repeated violations of the treaty by both sides, the arrangement was not officially canceled until 965, when Emperor Nicephorus II Phocas established full control of Cyprus for the Byzantines. A sixth-century mosaic dating back to this period has survived at Kiti and can be compared with works at Ravenna in Italy.

– K –

- KANTARA CASTLE. One of three castles in the Kyrenia mountain range. It sits furthest to the east, rising approximately 700 meters above sea level. The Byzantines are believed to have erected the castle in the face of the Arab raids on Cyprus. In 1191, Richard the Lionheart captured the island from the self-appointed emperor Isaac Comnenos, who sought refuge in the castle. The castle saw many battles during the Lusignan and Venetian periods. The supporters of Peter I, King of Cyprus, managed to retain control of Kantara Castle even though the Genoese had conquered Nicosia and Famagusta in 1373. When Prince John, the king's brother, escaped from the Genoese, he took refuge in the castle.
- **KARAMANLIS, CONSTANTINE (1907–1998).** Prime minister of **Greece** from 1961 to 1963, and from 1974 to 1980. Constantine Karamanlis was born in Proti in the district of Macedonia. He began his political career with the Populist Party but later joined the "Greek Rally," a party formed by **Alexandros Papagos**. When Papagos died in 1955, Karamanlis, then the minister of public works, was selected as his successor. He went on to form his own party, the National Radical Union, and served as Greek prime minister until 1963.

Exiled Karamanlis was invited back to head the National Emergency Government when the Greek **military** junta regime collapsed in 1974. He founded a new party, the Democratic Party, which was victorious in the elections of November 1974. Karamanlis went on to serve as president of the Greek Republic from 1980 to 1985 and again in 1990–1995.

In the mid-1950s, the Greek royalty, North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), and the United States were all exerting pressure on Karamanlis to tackle the Cyprus problem. Karamanlis was not as strong a supporter of *enosis* as Alexandros Papagos, and this helped in the nurturing of a more Cypriot consciousness. Karamanlis became heavily involved in the creation of the **Republic of Cyprus** via the London-Zurich Agreements of February 1959 and pressured Makarios to accept the agreements. General George Grivas (military commander of the National Organization of Cypriot Fighters [EOKA]) expressed the general feeling in Cyprus and Greece when he wrote, "No-one in Cyprus today can approve the handling of the national question by the Karamanlis government." Following independence in 1960, the notion of enosis, as far as Karamanlis was concerned, became defunct and the 13-point proposal put forward by Makarios in 1963 for changes to the constitution was not supported by Greece.

Relations between Greece and Cyprus both before and during the 1968 to July 1974 talks continued to be strained because Makarios had ignored Karamanlis's advice against the introduction of the 13 amendments to the constitution. When in power in 1974 after the Turkish **invasion** and the fall of the Greek junta, Karamanlis's government's first important decision was to publicly back **President** Makarios as the island's rightful head of state. Greece later withdrew from NATO on the grounds that the alliance had demonstrated a pro-Turkish bias over Cyprus and failed to help the **Greek Cypriot** people. This move was judged as an act of great statesmanship.

In 1975, Karamanlis initiated a dialogue with Ankara and on 31 May 1975 he met Turkish Prime Minister Demirel Süleyman in Brussels, where he pledged to settle the Cyprus problem by peace-ful means. However, Karamanlis's soft approach toward the Cyprus problem failed to produce any results.

- KARAMANLIS, COSTAS (1956–). Prime minister of Greece from March 2004 until the present and the leader of the rightconservative party, New Democracy. Like his predecessor, Costas Simitis, Karamanlis has adopted a supportive stance regarding the United Nation's efforts to reach a solution to the Cyprus problem. Although not critical of the Annan Plan, Karamanlis was wary as it gradually emerged.
- **KARPAS PENINSULA.** The northeastern-most tip of Cyprus stretching north from **Famagusta**. The Karpas Peninsula covers a substantial part of the island and extends approximately 80 kilometers in length and 20 kilometers in width. Karpas is home to many endemic species of flora and fauna. It also boasts some of the island's attractive beaches known for their outstanding natural beauty. Its rich subterranean water reservoirs enable cultivation of bountiful crops such as tobacco, fruit, and olives. A substantial contribution to the region's income comes from fishing.

Cyprus is on one of the main routes for migratory birds flying between Eastern Europe and Africa, used by approximately 300 species of birds in early spring. The island is also an important breeding ground for the endangered *Chelonia Mydas* and *Caretta Caretta* sea turtles (*see* AKAMAS PENINSULA).

The Karpas Peninsula is home to the **Apostolos Andreas Monastery**. Situated near the very tip of the Karpas, on the point known as the Cape of Saint Andrea, the monastery is dedicated to St. Andrew and is a place of pilgrimage for the Greek Orthodox **Church of Cyprus.** 

**KATAKLYSMOS (FESTIVAL OF THE FLOOD).** Festival, unique to Cyprus, celebrated 50 days after **Easter**, coinciding with the day of the Pentecost. The word *Kataklysmos* means flood, and both biblically and in Greek mythology it was used to describe the terrible floods that led to the annihilation of all living creatures with the exception of those faithful to and beloved by God. Noah and his family and Deukalion and his wife were among those who were saved to bring a new morality to the earth.

Kataklysmos celebrations are held over several days on the waterfront in coastal towns and villages. It is believed that the festival stems from feasts to honor **Aphrodite**, which were also held by the water. The most well-known activity of the festival is the throwing of water at others, and this is said to symbolize purification of body and soul. Other traditions include folk dancing; *tchattista*, which is an improvised singing competition between groups; and other competitive pastimes such as boat races and swimming competitions. *See also* CHURCH OF CYPRUS.

KENNEDY, JOHN F. (1917–1963). President of the United States (US) from 1961 to 1963. During the first years of independence, relations between Cyprus and the US were positive. Following a trip by the president of Cyprus, Archbishop Makarios, to the US to meet with President Kennedy, the US aided the creation of the Cypriot Central Intelligence Agency (KYP), which was modeled on the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). Both President Kennedy and Vice President Lyndon Johnson visited the island during 1962; however, rumors regarding Cyprus's procommunist stance overshadowed their visits.

KISSINGER, HENRY ALFRED (1923–). Secretary of state of the United States (US) from 1972 to 1976. Born in Fuerth, Germany, on 27 May 1923, he migrated to the US in 1938. He received his doctoral degree from Harvard University in 1954, after which he became a member of the faculty at the university.

In July 1974, a Greek junta-led **coup d'état** in Cyprus triggered the **military invasion** of the island by **Turkey** and the de facto division of the country. Henry Kissinger, then US secretary of state, is believed by many to have played a major part in the events of 1974.

Kissinger has written many books and articles on US **foreign policy** and international affairs and is noted by some as a leading exponent of the *realist* school in international relations. Upon retirement from government service, Kissinger founded an international consulting firm, Kissinger Associates, based in New York City.

**KOFINOU INCIDENT.** On 15 November 1967, amid **intercommunal** violence on the island and in order to prevent **Turkish Cypriots**  from forming enclaves, General **Georgios Grivas**, the supreme commander of the **Greek Cypriot National Guard**, initiated a concerted attack on the villages of Kofinou and Ayios Theodoros. **Turkey** reacted by mobilizing its armed forces and, in an ultimatum to **Greece**, demanded that Grivas and the Greek troops exceeding the number allowed by the Treaty of Alliance be withdrawn from the island. The Turkish government announced that if its demands were not met, it would intervene directly.

Eventually, after the joint negotiations with the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), the **United Nations (UN)**, and the **United States**, Greece conceded to the Turkish demands. It also agreed that compensation be paid to the Turkish Cypriots for loss of lives and property, an increase in the size of the **United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP)**, and the expansion of its mandate. Greece and Turkey also agreed that new talks on the **constitutional** structure of Cyprus would be initiated.

Grivas was ordered to return to Athens and was prohibited from leaving the country. The withdrawal of Greek troops in question was completed by mid-January 1968. The Cyprus **government** supplied the materials to rebuild the two destroyed villages. However, **Makarios** did not fully concede to Turkish demands. He refused to disarm the National Guard and resisted pressures to expand UNFICYP powers. No compensation for loss of lives was granted to Turkish Cypriots. The UN secretary-general reported that the incident had "caused heavy loss of life."

**KOKKINA.** Kokkina or Erenköy (in Turkish) is an enclave of the "Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC)." It was a Turkish Cypriot enclave prior to 1974 and is located on Morphou Bay on the island's northern coast. Kokkina is several kilometers from the main area controlled by the "TRNC" and is hemmed in by land controlled by the Republic of Cyprus.

Thousands of Turkish Cypriots congregated in enclaves during the period of intercommunal violence, which began in December 1963. While the **government** suspected a ploy on the part of Turkish Cypriots to gain power over some regions by increasing their numbers, Turkish Cypriots regarded the movements as an attempt by the government to marginalize the role of the Turkish Cypriot community.

## 90 • KOLOSSI CASTLE

Kokkina/Erenköy was one of the last ports under Turkish Cypriot control, and the government regarded the village as a threat as it was believed to be a point of insertion for paramilitary and weapons. By cutting the enclave off, Turkish Cypriot paramilitaries would be prevented from rearming.

**KOLOSSI CASTLE.** Kolossi Castle is a 13th- to 15th-century stone fortress, located 14 kilometers to the west of **Limassol**. The original castle is thought to have served as the Grand Commandery of the Knights Templar. However, after the fall of Acre in 1291, it is believed that the Knights of the Order of Saint John transferred their headquarters to Kolossi, which Hugh I had granted them in 1210. In 1306, the Knights Templar became a major political force in the area, but following a declaration by Pope Clement V disbanding them, the Knights of the Order of Saint John came to prominence once more. In 1310, the latter transferred their administrative headquarters to the island of Rhodes, though their Commanderie remained in Kolossi.

The original 13th-century fortress was left in ruins by raids from the Genoese (1373) and the Mamlukes (1402, 1413, and 1425). In 1454, the major commander of the Order, Louis de Magnac, had a new fortress constructed, which still stands on the site today. Remains of the original castle have survived on the eastern, northern, and northeastern sides of the site.

- KOTSIAMANIS, NICOLAOS (1946–). A world-renowned artist and sculptor born in Morphou. Nicolaos Kotsiamanis pursued acting at the National Theater of Greece before realizing his talent as an artist and sculptor. At the age of 21, Kotsiamanis enrolled in the Byam Shaw School of Art in London. One of Kotsiamis's most notable works was the 10-meter-high bronze statue of Archbishop Makarios III, which stood in the precinct of the Archbishop's Palace in old Nicosia. Kotsiamanis also sculpted the seven-meter-high statue of Gregoris Afxentiou at Machaeras Monastery.
- **KOURION** (**CURIUM**). One of the island's ancient city-kingdoms, Kourion is thought to have been founded by the Argives between the 14th and 12th centuries BC. The Kourion, which is located close to

**Episkopi**, is considered to be one of the most important archeological sites in the eastern **Mediterranean**.

The site consists of a very large *Agora* or market place and a fifth-century Christian basilica. In the House of Eustolios, which was originally a Roman villa, the remains of a complex of public baths have been unearthed as well as a Roman nymphium with a large octagonal swimming pool. Floors in many rooms in the villa are adorned with beautiful mosaics also dating to the fifth century AD. One kilometer farther to the west lies a second-century stadium.

The Greco-Roman amphitheater, which is located at the site, has also been dated to the second century AD. The amphitheater, which seats 3,000, hosted gladiator games and was used for theatrical purposes. A *Palestra*, or training ground for gladiators, is close to the site. The theater has now been restored and is frequently used for musical and theatrical performances.

The Sanctuary of Apollo is located three kilometers from the city, and Cypro-Corinthian columns still grace the site. A stadium that is approximately 400 meters long lies between the city and the sanctuary. During the seventh century, a series of five strong earthquakes hit the region and Kourion was destroyed.

Luigi Palma **di Cesnola** removed many artifacts from Kourion in the late 19th century. These were displayed as part of the first exhibition of the New York Metropolitan Museum of Art, and many remain on permanent display. Stanford University bought many pieces, but they were destroyed by an earthquake that hit California in 1906. *See also* ARCHEOLOGY.

KUCHUK, FAZIL (1906–1984). Born in Nicosia, Fazil Kuchuk was educated in Istanbul, France, and Switzerland. In May 1937, he returned to Cyprus as a qualified general medical practitioner. Kuchuk was an opponent of British rule on the island and championed Turkish Cypriot rights.

During the 1950s, Kuchuk set up his own **political party**, established the first Turkish labor union in Cyprus, and launched a newspaper called *Halkin Sesi (The Peoples' Voice)*. Despite lawsuits and closures for criticizing the colonial administration, *Halkin Sesi* continues publication to this day (*see* PRESS).

## 92 • KYKKOS MONASTERY

Kuchuk represented the Turkish Cypriot community at the **independence** talks of 1959 in London and Zurich, where he signed the agreements on their behalf. The agreements established the **Republic of Cyprus**, of which Kuchuk became the first vice president. In 1963, intercommunal trouble between the two communities resulted in the end of the partnership. **Rauf Denktash** succeeded Kuchuk as the leader of the Turkish Cypriot community in 1973. *See also* LON-DON-ZURICH AGREEMENTS.

**KYKKOS MONASTERY.** The monastery lies 20 kilometers west of Pedoulas in the northwest **Troodos** mountains and is situated 1,143 meters above sea level. Kykkos Monastery was founded toward the end of the 11th century by **Byzantine** Emperor Alexios I Komnenos (1081–1118). Because the monastery has been burnt to the ground on a number of occasions, no remains of the original building have survived.

According to folklore, a hermit named Esaias lived in a cave on a mountainside close to Kykkos. During the hot summer season, the Byzantine governor of the island, Doux Manuel Voutoumites, would move to the cooler climes of the area. It is said that Esaias's and Voutoumites's paths crossed when the governor, who had lost his way, asked the hermit for help. When Esais refused to reply, Voutoumites berated him. Upon his return to Nicosia, Voutoumites developed the incurable illness of lethargia. God appeared before Esaias and explained that it was divinely planned that in return for a cure for his lethargia, Voutoumites would visit the hermit to ask for forgiveness. Easias was to ask for the Icon of the Virgin, which was painted by the Apostle Luke and held at the Imperial Palace at Constantinople. The hermit's request seemed impossible to Voutoumites. When Esaias explained that it was a matter of divine plan, they traveled together to Constantinople to ask Emperor Alexios III for the icon. Sensing an opportunity, Voutoumites went to see the emperor, whose daughter was also struck by lethargia. Although the emperor found it difficult to part with the icon, he was assured by Voutoumites that his donating the icon would bring recovery to his daughter. Due to Emperor Alexios Komnenos's benefaction, a church and monastery were built at Kykkos.

The Icon of the Virgin Mary still resides at the monastery and is heavily protected. The monastery also houses many other valuable icons, relics, and manuscripts. **Archbishop Makarios III** requested that upon his death he be buried close to the monastery, and his grave is located three kilometers west of the monastery.

**KYPRIANOU, SPYROS (1932–2002). President** of the **Republic of Cyprus** from 1977 to 1988. Born in **Limassol**, Spyros Kyprianou pursued his studies in **economics** and commerce at the City of London College and later in law at Gray's Inn. Still a student, Kyprianou formed the National Union of Cypriot Students in England (EFEKA) and became its first president.

Kyprianou became **Archbishop Makarios**'s **III** secretary in London in 1952, and in 1954 he took over the Office of the Secretary of the Cyprus Ethnarchy in the same city. In 1956, Kyprianou visited **Greece** and went into collaboration with the Pan-Hellenic Committee for Self-Determination for Cyprus; between August 1956 and March 1957 he was the representative of the Cyprus Ethnarchy in New York. Later he returned to London and resumed his duties as the Ethnarchy's representative there until the signing of the **London-Zurich Agreements**.

In March 1959, Kyprianou accompanied Makarios on his return to Cyprus. In the transitional period that preceded **independence**, he represented the **Greek Cypriots** at a conference in Athens to discuss drafting the agreement regarding the working of the tripartite alliance, which the London-Zurich Agreements had provided for.

In August 1960, within days, Kyprianou was first appointed minister of justice and then minister of **foreign** affairs. In his capacity as foreign minister, Kyprianou represented his country at the **United Nations (UN)** Security Council and at the Committee of Ministers of the Council of **Europe**, where he was chairman between April and December 1967. Following a serious disagreement with the Greek **military** regime, he resigned from his post on 5 May 1972.

Kyprianou was heavily involved in diplomatic efforts to resolve the crisis in Cyprus, participating in talks with the Greek Government of National Unity on 1 August 1974 and leading the Cyprus delegation to the UN General Assembly in September of the same year. He was also a member of the Cyprus delegation that attended the Security Council meeting in February 1975. He established the **Democratic Party (DIKO)** on 12 May 1976.

In 1976, Kyprianou was elected speaker of the **House of Repre**sentatives, and upon Makarios's death in August 1977, he became acting **president** of the **Republic of Cyprus** in line with the **constitutional** requirement. On 3 September 1977, he was formally elected president of the Republic and was subsequently reelected in the elections of 1978 and 1983. In the 1988 presidential elections, Kyprianou lost to **George Vassiliou**.

Spyros Kyprianou was steadfast in his beliefs regarding the solution to the **Cyprus problem**, and as a result he was regarded as a hardliner in Cyprus politics.

**KYRENIA.** Situated on the northern coast of Cyprus, Kyrenia is the smallest district on the island, with a total area of 398 square kilometers. The district is long and narrow, with an average width of approximately 16 kilometers, and is divided by the **Kyrenia range** of mountains, whose slopes rise gently at first, 1.7 kilometers back from the coast, and then sharply to form rugged peaks. Mount Kyparisovouno is the highest point of the range, with a height of 1,024 meters. The Kyrenia range runs the whole length of the district of Kyrenia, into **Famagusta** district and out onto the **Karpas Peninsula**.

Owing to the abundant supply of water from the mountains and the fertile land, Kyrenia district has been occupied since early times. The site of the town of Kyrenia is believed to have been founded by the Achaeans in the 10th century BC. Although little is known about Kyrenia's pre-Christian history, the presence of cemeteries and shrines suggests that the inhabitants were probably converted to Christianity in the early years of the settlement. Furthermore, early in the Christian era, the town became an Episcopal See. Over time Kyrenia has been fortified by the **Byzantines**, Franks, and **Venetians**.

In modern times, the city served as the administrative headquarters of the **Republic of Cyprus** district of Kyrenia until the Turkish **invasion** in 1974. Following the invasion, Kyrenia became the headquarters of the Turkish forces. Today, the town is a market center and seaside resort. The 12th-century **Kyrenia Castle** hugs the town's harbor, shaped as a horseshoe. **KYRENIA CASTLE.** Located on the eastern side of **Kyrenia**'s old harbor, the castle was originally built in **Byzantine** times as a defense against **invasion** from Asia Minor, although the fortifications underwent change through different time periods. It is still possible to identify aspects of the Byzantine Castle (330–1192 AD), Crusader Castle (1192–1472), and **Venetian** Castle (1472–1570).

The original Byzantine fortifications were built to accommodate armored knights and archers. However, the development of artillery required different, much stronger fortifications, many of which were made in the Venetian period. The Venetians built the huge, round towers at the corners of the castle in 1540, and their shape can be attributed to the discovery that round towers were much harder to destroy and damage than square towers. The Venetians, fearful of a landward attack from the Cypriots, built gun ports at three levels where cannon fire could be directed against attackers from the land side of the castle. The gunports were serviced by huge, long ramps that facilitated the positioning of artillery. The walls and towers were strengthened so that the whole structure could better withstand a landward attack. The castle can be entered via a bridge overarching a wide ditch.

The Byzantine Church of Saint George, which is thought to date back to the 11th century, still stands within the castle walls. The vast inner courtyard leads off to many rooms. The Shipwreck Museum is housed in one of these rooms. The remains of a fourth-century Greek ship are exhibited in the museum. Andreas Kariolou, a Cypriot diver, discovered the ship and cargo near Kyrenia.

**KYRENIA GATE.** Kyrenia Gate, in the northern sector of **Nicosia**, is one of three entrances through the **Venetian walls** that surround the old town of Nicosia. When it was first built, it bore the name *Porta del Proveditore*. Since its construction, Kyrenia Gate has undergone structural changes. First, the **Ottomans** restored the gate and added a domed square chamber, and then the **British** demolished sections of the wall around the gate to enable traffic to flow into and out of the old town. The original Venetian tablet, with details of the gate's construction, is positioned above the gate, and there is also a small stone tablet inscribed with Quranic verses. The British commemorated the date of the creation of roads through the walls by inscribing *1931* and *George the Fifth, King and Emperor* on the gate.

**KYRENIA RANGE.** The Kyrenia mountain range is of historical interest due to the chain of **Byzantine**-era crusader castles located on its slopes. **St. Hilarion** castle stands on the highest pinnacle to the southwest of **Kyrenia**, and both **Buffavento** and **Kantara** are visible. **Bellapais Abbey** is also of note. The castles date to the Byzantine period, and both the **Lusignans** and **Venetians** fortified them.

To the east of the **Nicosia**-Kyrenia Pass, 800 meters above sea level on the top of the range, stands *Pentadactylos*, which means *five fingers*. The name can be traced to the Greek hero *Dighenis* in his pursuit of the Saracens. According to legend, the hills started to rise to block the Saracens' view. Dighenis placed his hand upon the peak and leapt over, leaving a handprint in his wake.

# – L –

LALA MUSTAFA PASHA MOSQUE. The original St. Nicholas Cathedral was transformed into a mosque in 1571 by the Ottomans. It is located in Famagusta, and its construction was undertaken by the Lusignans between 1298 and 1312. Once crowned at St. Sophia's Cathedral in Nicosia, Lusignan kings were then bestowed with the crown of the King of Jerusalem at St. Nicholas Cathedral the next day.

Reims Cathedral influenced the architecture of the façade of the building. It also features a **Venetian** gallery from the 16th century, located in the courtyard and now used for ablutions. A Venetian insignia, believed to have been brought from a temple in Salamis, is displayed above the circular windows of the entrance. Eastern in style, the apse follows the traditional three-part composition found in most Cypriot churches.

**LANGUAGE.** The 1960 **Constitution** recognizes both Greek and Turkish as the official languages of the **Republic of Cyprus**. Before the de facto partition of 1974, Greek was widely understood by **Turkish Cypriots**, and an estimated 19 percent of the Turkish Cypriot community still has some knowledge of the language.

The Cypriot dialect of Greek is known as *Kypriaka*, spoken everyday by most **Greek Cypriots**; many older Turkish Cypriots from

Louroudjina and the Tylliria/Dillirga region also speak *Kypriaka* fluently. The standard form of Greek is preferred in such situations as **parliamentary** debates, the media, and when speaking to a Standard Greek speaker. Although the dialect is widely spoken, the stronger the use of the dialect, the more likely that the speaker will be perceived as less educated.

The dialect developed as a result of frequent isolation from the **Byz**antine Empire. The frequent **Arab raids** from the 7th to 10th centuries isolated the island from the rest of the Greek-speaking world, and although it was briefly reintegrated into the Byzantine Empire in the 10th century, the crusaders conquered the island in 1191. In part because of occupation and owing to its geographic isolation, the island's population developed a distinct dialect of the Greek language.

Historically, the dialect has been used in written form. The chronicles of Leontios Mahaeras and **George Boustronios** were written in the dialect. In more recent times *Kypriaka* has been used for poetry and folk songs.

Though written as standard Turkish, using the Turkish Latin alphabet, the Cypriot dialect of Turkish is marked by a number of sounds not present in standard Turkish. Grammatically, while Cypriot Turkish is a verb-object structured language, standard Turkish is an object-verb language. Therefore, the phrase "Okula gidecek misin?" in standard Turkish changes into "Gideceng okula?" (Are you going to School?) in Cypriot Turkish.

British English is also widely spoken on the island. Forms, documents, and services in Cyprus are available in Greek, Turkish, and English, and the large population of foreigners also contributes to maintaining English as a semiofficial language.

LARNACA. The town, also known colloquially as *Skala* or *Iskele*, is situated on the southeast coast of Cyprus. It is home to the island's main airport, Larnaca International Airport, and it is the second commercial seaport after Limassol. Larnaca boasts a truly Mediterranean seafront promenade lined with palm trees. The promenade hosts major festivals such as **Kataklysmos**, which is celebrated at the beginning of the summer.

In antiquity, Larnaca was known as Kition or Citium (in Latin) and was probably the administrative center of Cyprus when the island was an **Assyrian** protectorate (709–668 BC). The unearthing of a monument of the Assyrian king Sargon II supports this assumption. In the 13th century BC, the Mycenean Greeks founded the Kition city-kingdom, which earned a reputation as a rich port as well as a major center of the copper trade. Remains from that period have recently been excavated within its Cyclopean walls and a complex of Mycenean temples. During the Ionian Greek revolts of the fourth century BC, Citium led the side loyal to **Persia** and was laid under siege by Athenian troops in 449 BC. In AD 890, the tomb of St. Lazarus, the brother of Mary and Martha, was discovered bearing the inscription "Lazarus, the friend of Christ." The Church of Lazarus (*Agios Lazaros* Church) was built over the tomb.

Many famous names are connected with the town of Larnaca. Zeno, the renowned Stoic philosopher, was born in the town, and a famous Athenian general, Kimon, died defending it in a major battle with the Persian army of Xerxes. The statue of "Kimon the Athenian" stands on the seafront promenade of modern Larnaca.

The Larnaca **salt lakes** are located close to the airport. The lakes fill with water during the winter months, when they are visited by flocks of flamingoes. Between the salt lakes on the right and the monument of **Zeno** lies an underground chapel, Ayia Phaneromeni. Indications from its structure, a rock cavern with two chambers, are that probably it was a pagan tomb during the **Phoenician** times. Due to beliefs that the place is endowed with magical properties, people with headaches or other ailments walk three times round it and then leave an item of clothing or a lock of their hair on the grill in front of the south window.

On the banks of the salt lakes, about five kilometers west of Larnaca, lies the Hala Sultan Tekke. Within the Tekke lies the tomb of Umm Haram, said to be a close relative of Mohammad, the Prophet of **Islam**. According to Muslim narratives, Umm Haram accompanied Muslim raiders to the island but died soon after and was buried on this spot in 647. **Ottomans** would later honor her by building a mosque, which still exists today.

Larnaca was at the crossroads of civilizations from the early dawn of history. Once attractive to conquerors, colonizers, invaders, raiders, and traders, Larnaca is today a popular **tourist** attraction. LAUSANNE, TREATY OF. A peace treaty, signed in Lausanne, Switzerland, on 24 July 1923 by **Turkey** and the members of the Triple Entente that fought in **World War I** and in the Turkish War of **Independence**. The treaty determined the boundaries of **Greece**, Bulgaria, and Turkey as well as Iraq-Syria borders. Also, by virtue of the treaty, Turkey officially relinquished its claims on Cyprus, Iraq, and Syria. The treaty resulted in international recognition of the replacement of the defunct **Ottoman** Empire with the sovereign state of the Republic of Turkey.

After the expulsion of Greek forces by the Turkish army under the command of Mustafa Kemal (Kemal Ataturk), the newly founded Turkish government rejected the recently signed Treaty of **Sèvres**. On 20 October 1922, the talks were resumed, although they stalled following a Turkish protest on 4 February 1923. The talks resumed once again on 23 April, and the Treaty of Lausanne was signed on 24 July 1923.

- LEDRA PALACE. Built in 1949, Ledra Palace was one of the largest and most glamorous hotels in Nicosia up until 1974. After the events of 1974 and the creation of the United Nations (UN) Buffer Zone, dividing the island into Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot sides, the hotel fell within the boundaries of the buffer zone/Green Line and has since been used by the UN. It has also hosted many high-level meetings between the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot leaders. The hotel is often used as a venue for bicultural events designed to aid reconciliation between the two communities. In 2004, the Ledra Palace Hotel became a designated crossing point across the Green Line separating the government-controlled area from the section under Turkish military occupation.
- **LEFKARITIKA.** Lefkaritika, which takes its name from the village of Lefkara, is a form of needlework extant in its original form. This form of needlework was introduced during the **Venetian** occupation (1489–1571) of the island. During the **Byzantine** period, Constantinople (present-day Istanbul) was the center of weaving expensive textiles for **Europeans**, in particular for ecclesiastical use. Following the Crusades, Cyprus became the one remaining secular Latin

stronghold in the eastern **Mediterranean** and a prosperous commercial center and, as such, became the center of the production of this type of textile.

This kind of drawn and counted thread embroidery is traditionally crafted by the **women** of the village of Lefkara in the Larnaca district. When wealthy Venetians chose the village as their main summer resort, the villagers managed to copy and adapt the traditional Italian white needlework, which involved cut-work, drawn thread-work, and reticella fillings. These techniques were in use in Italy at the time, particularly in Venice. The local name of the Lefkara embroidery cut-work, *tayiadha*, is a derivation of the Italian *punto-tagliato*.

Women still sit outside their houses continuing the tradition of Lefkaritika embroidery. The Lefkaritika lace-making technique is passed down from one generation to the next. In the past, the men of the villages traveled abroad selling their goods, but thanks to modern means of communication and tourism, this is no longer necessary.

Some believe that Leonardo da Vinci was so touched by the Lefkara women's adaptation of Venetian embroidery that he took a piece of artwork with the *potamos* or river design on it back to Italy to grace the altar in Milan Cathedral. Today this design is referred to as the Leonardo da Vinci design.

- **LEFKONIKO INCIDENT.** On 25 March 1945, **British** colonial police officers fired into a procession/demonstration of people (People's Movement) in the village of Lefkoniko. The circumstances surrounding the incident are still unclear. It appears that the group had been celebrating Greek **Independence** Day at the church and was making its way to the village hall/club. The police stopped them and asked for the permit for the demonstration. Soon after, the police opened fire, killing a 28-year-old man and an 8-year-old boy and injuring others. Another victim, a 45-year-old man, died on 22 May 1945 of injuries sustained in the Lefkoniko incident. Emotions were running high on the island following the end of the war. The British had refused Cypriot demands for self-determination. *See also* BRIT-ISH RULE; *ENOSIS*.
- **LEVENTIS MUSEUM.** The museum was founded in 1984 at the initiative of the mayor of **Nicosia**, Lellos Demetriades. It is named after

the **A.G. Leventis Foundation**, which funded the purchase and the restoration of the building housing the museum. The museum was opened to the public on 20 April 1989 and presents the history and social development of the city of Nicosia from the Chalcolithic period (3,000 BC) to the present. More than 5,000 years of the capital's history are represented in the museum's collections of archeological artifacts, costumes, photographs, medieval pottery, maps and engravings, jewelry, and furniture, which are displayed in its permanent galleries. Exhibits are arranged by period, from present-day Nicosia to the ancient period (3,000 BC). In addition to the permanent exhibits, a number of temporary exhibitions, lectures, educational programs, and other events are organized each year by the museum, and a small library housing rare publications and other material on the history of Nicosia and Cyprus is open to researchers by appointment.

LIMASSOL (LEMESOS). The second largest town in Cyprus, situated on the south coast of the island. The ancient cities of Kourion and Amathus lie on the outskirts of the town. The climate is Mediterranean, characterized by warm and dry summers and mild winters. The main sources of income are agriculture, animal husbandry, fishing, and tourism.

During **Byzantine rule**, Limassol was known as *Neapolis* or New Town. In AD 1191, the Byzantine era ended when the king of England, **Richard the Lionheart**, landed on the island and defeated **Isaac Comnenos**. In 1424, the Mamluke of Egypt sent their forces to Limassol to deal with the pirates who had been ravaging the Eastern Mediterranean and had taken refuge in the city. The former army destroyed the pirates by burning down the city. In 1878, the island came under **British** administration, and Limassol's first British governor, Colonel Warren, immediately set out to make improvements.

There are two **ports** in Limassol. The old port is used mainly by small fishing boats, as it only has a breakwater 250 meters long and can receive a maximum of three ships at any time. The new port is the largest port on the island and deals with the bulk of commercial and passenger traffic. The new harbor is 11 meters deep and has breakwaters 1,300 meters long, which means that it is able to accommodate approximately 10 ships. *See also* LIMASSOL CASTLE.

LIMASSOL CASTLE. The oldest mention of the existence of the Limassol Castle dates to 1228. At that time, the castle was either an ancient Byzantine castle or one that took its place in the early Frankish period. Further excavation is needed to date the structure exactly. The castle was attacked by the Ottomans in 1538. To prevent it from falling into Turkish hands, the Venetian governor of Cyprus had the castle demolished. Earthquakes in 1567 and 1568 completed the demolition. However, the ruins became part of a fort built by Ottomans in 1590 after they had conquered Cyprus. The two-meter-thick wall and ground floor prison cells that were in use until 1950 are two particularly defining features of the castle. Presently, the castle is home to the Cyprus Medieval Museum.

# **LONDON CONFERENCE.** *See* LONDON-ZURICH AGREE-MENTS.

LONDON-ZURICH AGREEMENTS. In 1958, the Greek government brought the question of Cyprus before the United Nations (UN) calling for a period of self-government on the island, which would lead to independence with necessary guarantees for the Turkish Cypriots. In February 1959, a week of tough negotiations took place in Zurich. The Greek Cypriot leader Archbishop Makarios III stayed in Athens during the talks. On 11 February 1959, Great Britain, Greece, and Turkey reached an agreement to establish a sovereign state of Cyprus.

The direct Greco-Turkish contacts resulted in the London Conference that took place on 19 February 1959 at Lancaster House. The talks were facilitated by the fact that **President** Makarios agreed to forgo *enosis* (union with Greece) and accept independence. Those who participated in the London Conference included representatives of Greece, Turkey, Great Britain, and the leaders of the two Cypriot communities—Archbishop Makarios III and Dr. **Fazil Kuchuk**.

During the London Conference, Makarios delayed signing for two days after objecting to a clause that gave the **Guarantor** powers the right to veto changes to the **constitution**, although he ultimately signed the agreement along with Kuchuk. Before independence was achieved, Makarios asked for the area allotted for **British Sovereign Base Areas** to be reduced from 257 square kilometers down to 157 square kilometers. Makarios was later quoted as saying, "[I] tried to get changes made, but there was not enough time to study the agreement. . . . If I did not sign the agreement there would be partition." The London Agreements included the following documents:

- The 103-page Treaty of Establishment between Cyprus and Great Britain regarding the transfer of sovereignty of the island with the exception of the base areas.
- The Treaty of Guarantee among Greece, Great Britain, Turkey, and Cyprus allowing action by the Guarantor powers to preserve the status quo established by the treaties.
- The Treaty of Alliance among Cyprus, Greece, and Turkey sanctioning the stationing of some troops in Cyprus by Greece and Turkey.
- A Gentlemen's Agreement between Greek Premier **Constantine Karamanlis** and his Turkish counterpart, **Adnan Menderes**, to contain communism on the island.

Attaining independence constituted a compromise between the Greek Cypriot demand for *enosis* and the Turkish Cypriot counter-demand for *taksim* (partition between Greece and Turkey). The main provisions of the agreements included:

- Establishment of legislative, judicial, and executive powers to reflect the bicommunal nature of the island's population.
- A Greek Cypriot president and Turkish Cypriot vice president.
- Separate communal assemblies.
- A joint national assembly.
- 950 Greek and 650 Turkish troops stationed on the island.
- Great Britain would retain two military bases on the island.

In the period following independence, problems relating to the effective implementation of the constitution began to surface. In November 1963, Archbishop Makarios suggested 13 amendments to the constitution. Turkey and the Turkish Cypriot leadership rejected the amendments.

**LITERATURE.** Literary writing in Cyprus has always been a widely cultivated form of expression. Demotic literature, by anonymous poets, revolving around traditions, historical legends, national landmarks,

and mythical heroes, as well as poetry and prose signed by Greeks and Greek Cypriots, as far back as the 14th century BC, have enriched the archives of Greek-Cypriot literary production for hundreds of years. After the Achaean descent in Cyprus, names such as **Zenon** of Kitium, Sopatros from Paphos, and Kleon, among others, laid the foundations of Greek literature in Cyprus. During the Lusignan rule, in the 16th century, the love songs of Cyprus "Poèmes d'amour," indicating the Cyprus relationship with Latin literature, were characteristic. During the same years, writers such as Leontios Macheras and Boustronios wrote their chronicles in the Cyprus dialect. In the **Ottoman** era, folk poets, chronicle-writers, and other artists kept the intellectual and artistic life of the island alive. During British rule, which began in 1878, printing was introduced in Cyprus. Thereafter, literature was no longer kept alive only by chronicle-writers or demotic poets and narrators. Modern authors published theatrical plays and demotic poems and embarked on journalistic careers, using newspapers as a forum for literary expression.

After 1960, when Cyprus became **independent**, writing and literary publications flourished. Cypriot intellectuals published poetry and prose and wrote stage plays. Literature has been on the increase, and the Cyprus Ministry of Education and Culture has funded publications as well as establishing prizes and awards to encourage writers. Today, there are several writers' unions on the island, members of which include many well-known intellectuals and well-published authors, both in Cyprus and abroad.

- **LUSIGNAN PERIOD (1192–1489).** Guy Lusignan purchased Cyprus from the Knights Templar in 1192. Upon his death in 1194, his brother, Amalric, inherited the throne. The Lusignan or Frankish period saw the introduction of the **feudal system** on the island. The population was divided into two classes; a ruling class who were mostly French in origin and the local Greek population who had been reduced to serfdom. The ruling classes were predominantly Catholic, whereas the local populace was Orthodox.
- LYSSARIDES, VASSOS (1920–). Speaker of the House of Representatives from 1985 to 1991. Born in Lefkara village, Larnaca district, Vassos Lyssarides studied medicine at the University of

Athens and was the personal physician to Archbishop Makarios III. Lyssarides was involved in the anticolonial struggle against the British (1955–1959) and was a participant in the London Conference in 1959, the aim of which was the establishment of the **independent Republic of Cyprus**. In 1960, he was elected as a member of the first parliament of the Republic. He served as a member of parliament from 1960 until 2000. He founded the **Movement of Social Democrats EDEK** in 1969 and was president of the party from 1969 until 2000, when he assumed the title of honorary president.

In his international capacity, Lyssarides has also held prominent positions; he was, inter alia, secretary of the International Committee for Southern Africa (ICSA) and vice president of the Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity Organization (AAPSO).

## – M –

- MACMILLAN, SIR HAROLD (1894–1986). Prime minister of Great Britain from 1957 to 1963. He succeeded Anthony Eden when the latter resigned in 1957. In 1958, Macmillan presented a plan for Cyprus, which Archbishop Makarios rejected. The Archbishop later declared that he was only willing to consider proposals that guaranteed independence and excluded both *enosis* (union with Greece) and *taksim* (partition between Greece and Turkey).
- MAHAREAS, LEONTIOS (1380–1435). Chronicler of medieval Cyprus attached to the Lusignan court. He served as secretary to the French noble Jean de Nores. His major work, entitled *A Recital concerning the Sweet Land of Cyprus*, chronicles events in the history of Cyprus from the visit of St. Helena in 1359 until 1432. Leontios's work was highly descriptive and covered political and military events and also intrigues regarding dignitaries and royalty.
  - MAKARIOS III, ARCHBISHOP (1913–1977). President of the Republic of Cyprus from 1960 to 1977. Born Michael Christodoulos Mouskos in Panayia, a village in Paphos district, Archbishop Makarios III entered Kykkos Monastery as a novice in 1926 at the

age of 13. At the age of 26, he was ordained deacon and was awarded a scholarship to study theology and law in Athens. He was officially ordained as a priest on 13 January 1946. He had been awarded one of 10 scholarships from the World Council of Churches to undertake further study at Boston University, Massachusetts.

He was elected the Bishop of Kition in 1948, while still studying in Boston. Soon after, he returned to Cyprus and assumed his new duties under the clerical name of Makarios. Following the death of Archbishop Makarios II in 1950, he was elected as Archbishop Makarios III on 18 October 1950. The plebiscite of 15–22 January 1950 was organized by the **Church of Cyprus** under Makarios III. The goal of the plebiscite was to test **Greek Cypriot** support for the goal of *enosis* (union with Greece). Of those polled, 95.7 percent were in favor.

Makarios actively supported *enosis* throughout the 1940s and 1950s. He forged close links with the Greek **government** and exerted pressure on **Greece** to actively support the Cypriot desire for selfdetermination, doing away with the island's **British rule**. In August 1954, Greece brought the Cyprus question before the **United Nations** (**UN**), arguing for the principle of self-determination to be applied in Cyprus. The British government resisted calls for decolonization, and this resulted in the **National Organization of Cypriot Fighters'** (**EOKA**) anticolonial struggle for *enosis*.

Greece formally petitioned the UN for the right of self-determination for Cyprus on 20 August 1955. As a result, the British administration introduced antisedition laws. Makarios defied the British and continued the calls for self-determination. By the time British Governor **Sir John Harding** opened talks on Cyprus in October 1955, insurgency was rife. The talks failed in the beginning of 1956, and Makarios was exiled to the Seychelles on 9 March 1956. He was permitted to leave a year later, although he was still forbidden from returning to Cyprus. Makarios went to Athens, where he continued to push for *enosis*. As time passed the goal of *enosis* was gradually changed to an alternative solution, **independence**.

Makarios was not permitted to attend the Zurich leg of the **London-Zurich** talks of 1959 and remained in Athens. He did, however, attend the London Conference, where he delayed signing the agreement for two days after objecting to a clause which gave

Turkey, Greece, and Great Britain the right to veto changes to the constitution.

When he finally returned to Cyprus on 1 March 1959, the Archbishop received a euphoric welcome in **Nicosia**. Before independence was gained on 16 August 1960, due to Makarios's efforts the area of **British Sovereign Base Areas**, was reduced from 257 to 157 square kilometers. He also tried to persuade **George Grivas** to give up the EOKA campaign.

In the presidential elections of December 1959, Makarios defeated lawyer Ioannis Clerides, receiving 67 percent of the vote. Archbishop Makarios III became the first president of the Republic of Cyprus. He took office on 16 August 1960. Makarios moved toward moderate centrist politics and adopted a policy of nonalignment. He endeavored to improve relations between the island and Greece and Turkey while becoming a high-profile member of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM). He attended the NAM conference in Belgrade in 1961.

Cyprus became a member of the Commonwealth of Nations in March 1961 and was represented by Makarios at the Commonwealth Prime Ministers Conference. He began to earn a reputation in some circles for unpredictability and a tendency toward communism.

On 30 November 1963, Makarios proposed 13 amendments to the constitution but was not successful in bridging the gap between the two communities. As a result, most Turkish Cypriot public officials, including Vice President **Fazil Kuchuk**, resigned, while many Turkish Cypriots left from ethnically mixed areas.

After intercommunal violence broke out in 1963, the UN created and dispatched the **United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus** (**UNFICYP**) to the island. By the end of 1965, the UN General Assembly had adopted a resolution recognizing that the Republic of Cyprus should enjoy "full sovereignty and complete independence without any foreign intervention or interference."

In January 1968, Makarios announced that elections were to be held the following month. He received 220,911 votes (96%). His opponent, Takis Evdokas, an *enosist*, received 8,577 votes. Makarios's overwhelming victory was evidence of his immense approval by the Greek Cypriots.

The year 1967 saw the emergence of tension between Archbishop Makarios and the Greek **military** junta, which demanded that

Makarios reform his **government**. The junta insisted that any ministers who had been critical of the Greek regime be removed from office. Makarios reshuffled the cabinet and in May 1974 requested that the Greek military junta remove certain Greek officers from Cyprus, whom he regarded as undermining the Cypriot government. The military regime in Athens agreed. Less than two months later, on 2 July, Makarios demanded that all Greek officers be withdrawn.

On 15 July 1974 a **coup d'état** was carried out in **Nicosia**. Makarios escaped to the British base at **Akrotiri** and **Nicos Sampson** assumed the presidency. On 19 July 1974, in an address to the UN Security Council, Makarios accused Greece of sponsoring the coup d'etat. He remained in London for five months, while securing international recognition of his administration as the only legal representative of an undivided state of Cyprus.

On 3 August 1977, Makarios suffered a heart attack and passed away. His tomb is in the mountains near **Kykkos Monastery**. **Nicolaos Kotsiamanis** crafted an imposing bronze statue of Makarios for the precinct of the **Archbishop's Palace** in old Nicosia.

# **MAKARIOS-DENKTASH GUIDELINES.** See HIGH-LEVEL AGREEMENTS OF 1977 AND 1979.

**MARONITES.** Maronites migrated to **Cyprus** from Syria, the Holy Land, and Lebanon between the 8th and the 13th centuries. It is believed that the first migrations of Maronites to Cyprus and Lebanon in the eighth century took place simultaneously. The Maronite community thrived in Cyprus prior to 1192. However, preceding the **Ottoman** conquest of 1571, the number of Maronite villages fell from 60 to 33.

After the Ottomans annexed the island, increasingly high taxes were imposed on the populace including the Maronites, who were often accused of treason. The Maronite community was persecuted; many had died defending the island, and those who remained were forced into hiding to escape persecution. As a result, many of them fled to Lebanon and another group followed the **Venetians** to the island of Malta. Some Maronites who stayed in Cyprus became crypto-Christians. They converted to **Islam** but continued to honor Christian traditions. While children would be baptized into the Christian faith, boys would also be circumcized.

Under the Ottomans, the Maronite Church in Cyprus was subject to the rule of the Greek Orthodox **Church of Cyprus** until 1840, when the Maronite Patriarch of Lebanon obtained a firman to restore the Maronite Church to the jurisdiction of the Maronite bishops. Maronites are members of the Eastern Catholic Church. Their religious heritage can be traced to Saint Maroun, a fifth-century Christian monk, and the founder of their spiritual movement.

Under **British** rule (1878–1960), the Maronite community grew in size, and was also enriched both economically and culturally. During this time, the Maronite community secured their religious and political rights and invested in their own churches and schools. In the 1891 census, out of 209,286 Cypriots only 1,131 were Maronites, mostly living in four villages. This constituted a massive reduction in population when, according to the historian Palmieri, in the 13th century approximately 50,000 Maronites were living in 60 villages.

In the first census conducted by the fledgling **Republic of Cyprus** in 1960, the Maronite population was calculated to be approximately 2,752. The community was concentrated mainly in the four remaining Maronite villages of Kormakitis, Karpashia, Asomatos, and Agia Marina. The Maronite villages are all situated in the north of the island, and following the Turkish **invasion** in 1974 many of the inhabitants were forced to flee. The number of Maronites left behind in the occupied area has steadily decreased, from 2,000 in December 1974 to 150 today, and their average age is 70 and over.

The present-day Maronite community has its own Maronite archbishop elected by the Holy Synod of the Maronite Church in Lebanon and confirmed by the pope. Educated in their own schools, many Maronites speak the language fluently, on which they place a great deal of importance. The Maronite population stands at approximately 6,000. The community is no longer concentrated in a handful of villages and as a result of their dispersal the Maronites are rapidly being assimilated and absorbed into the wider **Greek Cypriot** community.

Under the 1960 **Constitution**, all minority groups such as the Maronites, **Armenians**, and Latins must choose whether to belong to either the Greek Cypriot or **Turkish Cypriot** community. The Maronites chose to belong to the Greek Cypriot community. The Maronite community is represented in the **House of Representatives** by

## 110 • MEDITERRANEAN

an elected representative who can attend meetings but does not have the right to vote. *See also* RELIGION.

**MEDITERRANEAN.** An almost completely inland sea surrounded by three continents: Europe to the north, Africa to the south, and Asia to the east. The Strait of Gibraltar in the west, which is only 14 kilometers wide, is the Mediterranean's only connection to the Atlantic Ocean. In the east, the Dardanelles and the Bosporus connect the Mediterranean Sea to the Sea of Marmara and the Black Sea, respectively. In the southeast, the Suez Canal connects it with the Red Sea.

Historically, the sea had several names. The name Mediterranean is derived from the Latin *mediterraneus*, and the Greek *mesogeios*, both of which mean *inland*. Many languages referred to the Mediterranean as the middle or inland sea. The Latin name *Mare Nostrum*, which means *our sea*, was common.

In the easternmost basin of the Mediterranean Sea, at the crossroads of Africa, Asia, and Europe, lies Cyprus, its third largest island. Oil and gas deposits have recently been discovered beneath the seabed between Cyprus and Egypt. It is also thought that deposits may be found between Cyprus and Lebanon. However, for some time already, the Mediterranean has been important for the Cypriot **economy** due to trade, **transport**, and **tourism**, with beautiful beaches at **Ayia Napa**, **Polis Chrysochous**, and **Protaras** among others.

**MEGHALI IDEA.** The Meghali Idea constituted the Greek aspiration to establish a Greek state that would encompass all ethnic Greeks who were subject to domination by foreign powers. The ideal scenario would involve the establishment of a state, which encompassed an area stretching from Macedonia in the north, to Sicily in the west, to the Black Sea in the east, and to Cyprus in the south. Constantinople would be reinstated as the capital of the state.

Following Greek **independence** in 1821, the Meghali Idea was at the forefront of Greek politics. Large groups of ethnic Greeks were left out of the new Greek state that emerged after the Greek War of Independence. The Meghali Idea aspired to bring those groups into the Greek state.

In 1864, **Greece** obtained the Ionian Islands and in 1881 Thessaly and a district of Epirus. Between 1912 and 1913, during the Balkan Wars, Greece reclaimed Crete, southern Epirus, and most of the Aegean Islands. In fact, Greece increased in size by about 68 percent.

The Meghali Idea ceased to be a driving force behind Greek **foreign policy** following the Treaty of **Lausanne**, although many continued to hope for union with Greece. *Enosis* (union with Greece) continued to be the goal of many **Greek Cypriots** and was seen as merely a matter of time due to the territories that had already been unified with Greece. In 1974, the Greek **military** junta in Athens sponsored a pro-*enosis* military **coup d'état** in Cyprus. However, with time, the establishment of the state of Cyprus and the complications of **intercommunal** relations on the island, this idea has faded.

- **MELKONIAN EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTE (MEI).** The Institute was founded by Krikor and Garabed Melkonian in 1924, who in the aftermath of the **Armenian** massacres of 1895, 1909, and 1915, decided to create an educational orphanage in **Nicosia**. The orphanage opened in 1926. Eventually the orphanage became a boarding school, attracting students from the Armenian community in Cyprus and from overseas. It was the biggest Armenian school in Cyprus and consisted of a kindergarten, an elementary school, and a six-year high school as well as dormitories for children from other countries. It closed down in 2005 despite efforts to keep it open.
- MENDERES, ADNAN (1899–1961). Prime minister of Turkey from 22 May 1950, to 27 May 1960. Born close to Aydin, Turkey, to a wealthy landowner, Menderes became one of the leaders of the **Democratic Party (DP)** in 1945 and was elected prime minister in 1950, followed by two further consecutive terms in 1954 and 1957. Menderes opposed a Greek Cyprus, and he stated that he was only willing to accept federation (or partition) of the island. Following the 1960 coup d'etat in Turkey, he was hanged in September 1961 for violating the constitution and for his alleged involvement in the Istanbul pogrom during the 1950s.
- MILITARY. The Cypriot National Guard (presently made up of only Greek Cypriots) is the basic military arm of the Republic of Cyprus. It hosts land, air, and naval forces. It is also known as the Greek Cypriot National Guard.

The de facto **"Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC)"** has a force made up of 5,000 men, known as the Turkish Cypriot Security Force (TCSF). **Turkish Cypriot** males between the ages of 18 and 40 are conscripted into the TCSF. Its personnel are mainly deployed along the **Green Line** and in locations where hostile amphibious landings could take place.

The fact that it is not heavily armed makes the TCSF dependent on **Turkey**. The majority of its officer corps is drawn from the Turkish army, including its brigadier general. There is also a heavy Turkish military presence on the island totaling around 30,000–40,000 troops and including the Air Force, Navy, and Coast Guard. The presence of Turkish troops on the island has elicited several **United Nations** Security Council and General Assembly resolutions calling on the Turkish forces to withdraw.

- **MINING.** The Cypriot mining industry is making an increasing contribution to the Cypriot **economy** and accounted for about 0.3 percent of the gross national product in 2006. The industry provides raw materials including bentonite, cement, sand, gravel, and stone for the domestic construction and manufacturing sectors. Other mineral commodities include clay, gypsum, ocher, perlite, and umber. Construction aggregates, stone, and umber are the main industrial products in northern Cyprus.
- **MISSING.** In human terms, perhaps one of the worst consequences of the Greek-staged **coup d'état** and Turkish **invasion** in the summer of 1974 is the tragic humanitarian problem of the missing. During and after the coup and the **invasion**, many **Greek** and **Turkish Cypriots** found themselves at the mercy of their enemies. Today, 1,434 Greek Cypriots and 272 Turkish Cypriots are still unaccounted for. Some of the missing people were civilians, including **women** and children who were simply caught up in the fighting.

In 1981 and in compliance with **United Nations (UN)** General Assembly resolutions (3450(XXX)) of 9 December 1975, 32/128 of 16 December 1977, and 33/172 of 20 December 1978), the Committee on Missing Persons (CMP) was set up. The CMP is mandated by the UN to investigate the cases of 1,468 Greek Cypriot and 502 Turkish Cypriot missing people. It is a tripartite bicommunal investigatory committee that consists of one member from both the Greek Cypriot

and Turkish Cypriot communities, respectively. The third committee member is nominated by the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) and appointed by the UN secretary-general. Numbers quoted here vary depending on the sources used and on the progress made on the identification of the remains of the dead.

MITSOTAKIS, CONSTANTINOS (1918–). Prime minister of Greece from April 1990 to October 1993 and honorary chairman of the New Democracy party. Constantinos Mitsotakis vowed that Greece would renew its efforts to solve the **Cyprus problem**. Conflicting views on the resolution of the problem led to the formation of a joint committee that would use shared information to coordinate policies.

**MORPHOU.** Morphou is located in the northeast of Cyprus in the Turkish-occupied northern sector. The name *Morphou* dates back to ancient times and is closely associated with the Goddess **Aphrodite**. The city was built by Spartans, who brought with them the cult of Aphrodite and named the settlement in honor of her beauty. The name Morphou, sometimes Theomorphou, was used to refer to the city in the Middle Ages.

Morphou lies on the Mesaoria Plain, one of the most fertile areas in Cyprus. The fertile soils of the valley and the abundance of underground water contributed to the rapid development of the area. During the Middle Ages, the predominant crops cultivated in the area were sugarcane and cotton. Later, vegetables, legumes, grains, taro, and sesame began to be planted. Citrus, especially oranges and grapefruit, was cultivated on a large scale. In 1974, 51 percent of the island's citrus fruit was grown in Morphou and its surrounding villages.

The ancient city ruins of Solon, one of the 10 ancient city-kingdoms of Cyprus, were discovered near the town. Archeological excavations around Morphou uncovered an ancient theater which dates back to Roman times. *See also* ARCHEOLOGY.

# MOVEMENT OF SOCIAL DEMOCRATS EDEK/KINIMA SOCIALDIMOKRATON ENIEA DIMOKRATIKI ENOSI KENTROU/KINHMA ΣΟΣΙΑΛΔΗΜΟΚΡΑΤΑΝ ENIAIA HMOPAΔTIKH ENΩΣΗ KENTPOY. EDEK was established in 1969 by Vassos Lyssarides, and its members were drawn from the Committee for the Reestablishment of Democracy in Greece and those

#### 114 • NASI, JOSEPH

**Greek Cypriots** who shared Lyssarides's views. The party strongly supported **Archbishop Makarios III** and formed part of armed resistance against the **coup d'état** of 15 July 1974. Doros Loizou, the leader of the youth section of the party, EDEN, was shot dead in an attempt to murder Lyssarides in August 1974. Between 1979 and 1984 several members of EDEN with Trotskyist tendencies were expelled from the party. They then formed the Aristeri Pteryga (Left Wing). The current president of the party is **Yiannakis Omirou**.

EDEK favors an **independent** Cyprus united within a federal system with a strong central **government** and, generally, a settlement in line with the **United Nations** resolutions. The party secured 6.51 percent of the votes (4 seats) in the 2001 **parliamentary elections**. In the parliamentary elections of 2006, EDEK received 8.91 percent (5 seats). In June 2009, the party managed to secure one seat in the European Parliament.

## – N –

NASI, JOSEPH (1524–1579). Joseph Nasi was born João Miquez, a secret Jew, in Portugal after his family had fled from the Inquisition in Spain in 1492. Nasi's uncles founded the House of Mendes, a world-renowned banking establishment with a branch in Antwerp. In 1537, the family fled from Lisbon to Antwerp. In 1547, Nasi was forced to flee to France and later Italy before finally settling in Istanbul. Once in Istanbul, he was circumcised and reverted to his ancestral Hebraic name, Joseph Nasi. He then married his cousin Reyna, the daughter of his aunt Gracia Mendes.

In the **Ottoman** Empire at that time, many Jews held influential positions, as physicians, administrators, and advisors at the sultan's court. Nasi soon became a prominent figure in the court of Sultan Suleiman I. In the struggle for the throne between Suleiman's sons, Selim and Bayazid, Nasi pledged his allegiance to Selim, the eventual victor. Following Selim's accession to the throne, Nasi was appointed Duke of Naxos and the Seven Islands and later became Count of Andros. During the **Battle of Lepanto** (1570–1571) the **Venetians** recaptured Nasi's dominions for the former Christian duke, but this was only a temporary state of affairs, and the Ottomans soon reclaimed them. Nasi supported, and some say engineered, a war between the Venetians and the Ottomans. He encouraged the Ottoman annexation of Cyprus in 1570, and it is thought that Nasi had aspirations of being crowned King of Cyprus, even commissioning a coat of arms to indicate his standing. Following the death of Selim II, Nasi lost favor under the new sultan, although, he was permitted to retain his titles and fortune until his death.

NATIONAL GUARD. The army of the Republic of Cyprus, established immediately following the Declaration of Independence. Initially, the force consisted of 2,000 men, of whom 60 percent were Greek Cypriot and 40 percent Turkish Cypriot. At that time national service was not mandatory. However, the president and vice president had the option to introduce national service if they were both in agreement.

The intercommunal violence of December 1963–1964 led to the departure of Turkish Cypriots from all major organs of the state, including the army. As a reaction to Turkish threats of **military** action, the High Military Command for the Defense of Cyprus was set up whereby a Greek division was dispatched to Cyprus. This unit remained operative until 1967, when due to Turkish demands it had to be withdrawn from the island.

NATIONAL ORGANIZATION OF CYPRIOT FIGHTERS (EOKA)/ETHNIKI ORGANOSIS KYPRION AGONISTON/ EΘNIKH ΟΡΓΑΝΩΣΙΣ ΚΥΠΙΩΝ ΑΓΩΝΙΣΤΩΝ (EOKA). EOKA was a Greek Cypriot underground movement that sought the withdrawal of the British from Cyprus and ultimately *enosis* (union) with Greece. George Grivas, a Greek Cypriot officer of the Greek Army, headed EOKA, and the organization's campaign began on 1 April 1955 and lasted until December 1958. Many clashes between EOKA fighters and the British took place in mountainous terrain, and the organization's second in command, Gregoris Afxentiou, was killed during one such battle.

A cease-fire was declared, paving the way for diplomatic moves on the future of the country, which led to the signing of the London-Zurich Agreements. On 16 August 1960, Cyprus became independent although Great Britain retained two Sovereign Base Areas

## 116 • NATIONAL ORGANIZATION OF CYPRIOT FIGHTERS B

(SBAs). The new **Republic**'s **Constitution** and the 1960 Treaty of Guarantee explicitly ruled out *enosis*. The Treaty appointed **Turkey**, Greece, and Britain as **guarantor** powers. Under the Treaty, annexation of the island by any guarantor power was prohibited.

NATIONAL ORGANIZATION OF CYPRIOT FIGHTERS B (EOKA B)/ETHNIKI ORGANOSIS KYPRION AGONISTON B/ E@NIKH OPFANOSIS KYPRION B AFONISTON. A Greek Cypriot pro-enosis paramilitary organization, which was formed by George Grivas in 1971. Grivas created EOKA B in response to Archbishop Makarios III's negative position regarding enosis (union with Greece). EOKA B fought for enosis and was at odds with Makarios over the latter's refusal to pursue enosist policies. Because of its involvement in the murder of civilians, EOKA B was considered a terrorist organization and was outlawed by Makarios in April 1974. See also NATIONAL ORGANIZATION OF CYPRIOT FIGHTERS (EOKA).

NATIONAL STRUGGLE MUSEUM. The museum was founded in 1961 and is housed in the old Archbishop's Palace in Nicosia. The museum focuses on the period between 1955 and 1959, when the National Organization of Cypriot Fighters (EOKA) was active. Exhibits include the slogans and the holy oath of EOKA as well as photographs, letters, and personal effects of the organization's members. The museum houses representations of battles that occurred in the preindependence period.

In 1950, a plebiscite was conducted to gauge support for *enosis* (union with Greece). Volumes containing the signatures of those who were in favor of *enosis* are also housed in the National Struggle Museum.

NATIONAL UNITY PARTY (NUP)/ULUSAL BIRLIK PARTISI (UBP). The NUP, a Turkish Cypriot political party, established in 1975 and conservative in orientation, has controlled the "government" for most of the period since its foundation. The former Turkish Cypriot leader Rauf Denktash was among the party's founding members and its first chairman. From 1983 to 2006, the party was led by Dervis Eroglu, the only candidate who was able to present serious opposition to Denktash in **"presidential"** elections during the latter's tenure as leader.

Over the years since the foundation of the NUP, its support has been consistently high. In 1976 and 1990, support for the party amounted to more than 50 percent of the votes. However, after the establishment of the **Democratic Party** (**DP**) in 1992, the NUP's votes were subsequently split between the two parties. In 1993, the NUP attracted 29.8 percent and the DP 29.2 percent of the conservative vote. In the 1998 elections, the NUP made a strong but temporary comeback, gaining 40.4 percent of the votes, nearly twice as many as the second largest party, the DP.

In the December 2003 elections—and for the first time in its history—NUP lost its position as the largest party. In the period preceding the referendum of 24 April 2004, the NUP held a strong "no" position against the **Annan Plan**. For the first time, it found itself at odds with the policies of the Turkish government, which backed the Annan Plan. Nevertheless, in the "**parliamentary**" elections of February 2005, the NUP proved to be the second largest Turkish Cypriot political party. In the April 2009 elections, the party was elevated to first place by securing 44.07 percent of the votes (26 seats).

The party's chairmen have been:

Rauf Denktash (11 Oct. 1975–3 Jul. 1976) Nejat Konuk (3 Jul. 1976–2 Mar. 1978) Osman Orek (18 Apr. 1978–7 Jan. 1979) Mustafa Cagatay (7 Jan. 1979–30 Nov. 1983) Dervis Eroglu (18 Dec. 1983–2006) Huseyin Ozgurgun (2006) Tahsin Ertugruloglu (2006–present)

**NEOLITHIC PERIOD (8000–4500 BC).** The Neolithic Age in Cyprus lasted for more than 3,500 years. Settlers are believed to have come from North Syria and the Anatolia/Syro-Palestinian coast. The first settlers were primitive farming people who cultivated crops such as beans, cereals, lentils, and peas. They also kept livestock, including goats, sheep, pigs, deer, and moufflon. The average life expectancy at this time would have been 34 years, and the infant mortality rate was very high.

#### 118 • NEOPHYTUS THE RECLUSE, SAINT

The lithic industry was one of the most notable features of the period and settlers made stone vessels from gray andesite. They fashioned their weapons and implements out of pebbles from the nearby river beds. By about 3200 BC, the use of stone to fashion vessels had given way to pottery. Several important Neolithic settlements have been unearthed on the island. **Choirokoitia**, Kalavassos-Tenta, and **Apostolos Andreas**-Kastros all date back to this period. Settlements tended to be situated alongside perennial streams in the foothills of the northern and southern mountain ranges or along the coast.

Choirokoitia is one of the most important Neolithic settlements in the eastern **Mediterranean** and has been listed on the official list of UNESCO World Cultural Heritage sites since 1998. The houses to be found on the site were built on circular foundations and were dome shaped. This type of structure is known as *tholos*. An important feature of these habitations was the practice of burying the dead under the floors. From about 3400 BC onward this circular style of dwelling was gradually replaced by more rectangular constructions. *See also* ARCHEOLOGY.

**NEOPHYTUS THE RECLUSE, SAINT (1134–1219).** Born in the village of Kato Drys, Neophytus became a monk at the age of 18 and entered the Monastery of Saint Chrysostomos. In 1159, Neophytus sought refuge from the world in the semimountainous area of *Melissovouno* close to **Paphos**. In the space of a year, he cut caves into the side of a hill above the present-day monastery of Saint Neophytus the Recluse, creating a chapel dedicated to the Holy Cross and a cell for his own habitation. Neophytus spent his days writing and preaching Christianity. Ordained as a priest, at the age of 36, by the bishop of Paphos, he then founded a small monastic community at the monastery, which bears his name. Neophytus quickly attracted a large following and at age 65 he made another, more inaccessible, cave higher up the hill, which became known as the *higher encleistra*.

Many of Neophytus's works are housed in the monastery. He became one of the island's eminent ecclesiastical writers. His works include *The Second Ritual Ordinance, The Book of Fifty Chapters, The Bible of Catechisms, Interpretation of the Six Days,* and *Interpretation of the Psalms and the Lamentations.* Saint Neophytos died in 1219 at the age of 85 in the same monastery where he had spent his life. The lower *encleistra*, which contains the saint's tombstone, rock table, and the rock platform on which he slept, is open to visitors and has been well preserved.

- NEW HORIZONS PARTY (NE.O)/NEI ORIZONTES (NE.O), NEOI OPIZONTEΣ (NE.O). A Greek Cypriot political party, New Horizons was founded in 1996 and supported a solution to the Cyprus problem based on the 1960 Constitution. It secured 3 percent of the votes (one seat) in the parliamentary elections of 27 May 2001, entering the House of Representatives for the first time. In 2005, the party merged with politicians from the European Democracy Party (EURO.DE) to form the European Party (EVRO. KO). The party is led by Nicos Koutsou.
- NICOSIA. (Greek: Lefkosía; Turkish: Lefkoşa). Nicosia is the capital and largest city of Cyprus. Located alongside the **Pedieos River** on the fertile Mesaoria plain, Nicosia lies between the **Kyrenia** range of mountains to the north and the **Troodos** range to the south. The city is the island's seat of **government** and the main business center.

Nicosia has the unsettling distinction of remaining the only divided city in Europe. The city is divided by the United Nations Buffer Zone/Green Line that separates the southern Republic of Cyprus-controlled area from the northern "Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC)"-occupied area.

During Hellenic and Roman times, Nicosia was known as Lefkothea, **Ledra**, or Ledrae. This small, insignificant town became a city-kingdom of Ledra by the seventh century BC. In the fourth century AD, the town became a bishopric, and by this time it was called Lefkousia or Ledri. The city became the capital of the island under the name Lefkosia around the 10th century. Threats to the coastal settlements of **Paphos** and **Salamis** caused the populace to flee inland to the centrally located Lefkosia.

In 1192, Nicosia was chosen to be the seat of the **Lusignan** kings. The Lusignans began to use the exonym of Nicosia. Throughout this period, there was a considerable degree of cultural enhancement in the city, and in the 15th and 16th centuries many palaces, mansions, churches, and monasteries were constructed.

In 1489, Venice took possession of Nicosia. Between 1567 and 1570, the Venetians built 4.5-meter-thick walls around the city (*see* VENETIAN WALLS). The city was accessed through three gates, **Famagusta**, Paphos, and **Kyrenia**. Nowadays, Nicosia has grown beyond the walls although the old medieval part of town continues to thrive within.

The city fell to the **Ottoman** Empire in 1571 after a siege, which resulted in 20,000 fatalities. The entire island came under the rule of the British Empire in 1878, and Nicosia became the capital of the newly acquired British colony. In the years 1905–1951, it was also an important station of the Cyprus Government Railway.

The city was the scene of violence in the period just prior to Cypriot **independence** in 1960 when the **National Organization of Cypriot Fighters (EOKA)** began its offensive against colonial rule.

The year 1974 witnessed a Greek junta-supported **coup d'état** and the subsequent Turkish **invasion**. Since then, part of north Nicosia, including the former international airport, has remained within the **United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP)** enforced buffer zone, which separates the **Republic of Cyprus**-controlled south from the "TRNC"-controlled northern area. Around 35,000 **Greek Cypriot refugees** from the north flocked to the city in the mid-1970s.

There are several excellent museums in the city, including the **Byzantine Museum**, **Folk Art Museum**, **National Struggle Museum**, and Cyprus Ethnological Museum, which was the house of **Hadjigeorgakis Kornesios.** The Byzantine Museum is housed in the **Archbishop's Palace** and contains the island's most treasured religious icons. The Archbishopric is flanked by the late Gothic Saint John's Cathedral that was built in 1665. The most important treasures of the island's antiquities, spanning the **Neolithic** Age to the Roman Era are housed in the Cyprus Archeological Museum.

*Laiki Yeitonia*, which means Folk Neighborhood, is a pedestrianized area of the old town within the walls. The area has been restored to re-create the atmosphere of past days. Ledra Street is the main shopping street in the old town. *See also* BAYRAKTAR MOSQUE; CHECKPOINTS; ELEFTHERIA SQUARE; KYRENIA GATE; LEVENTIS MUSEUM; OMERIYE MOSQUE. NIXON, RICHARD (1913–1994). President of the United States (U.S.) from 1969 to 1974. During Nixon's administration, King Constantine of Greece was increasingly seen as a problem, and this period witnessed mounting support for the Greek military junta on the part of the US government. In 1969, at Dwight Eisenhower's funeral, both King Constantine and Stylianos Pattakos, the junta's second in command, were present. However, only Patakos met with Nixon. Henry Kissinger is thought to have had some influence over Nixon's foreign policy in 1969. The 1974 events in Cyprus coincided with the Watergate scandal in Washington, D.C. Thus Nixon is believed by some to have been preoccupied with domestic rather than international problems.

# – O –

**OFFSHORE BUSINESS.** In 1975, the **government** of the **Republic of Cyprus** began to encourage the registration of offshore companies. This favorable tax scheme was successful in attracting more than 54,000 offshore businesses to the island. By 2007, more than 137,650 companies were registered.

In July 2002, the **House of Representatives** approved a uniform 10 percent corporate tax rate, applicable to both onshore and offshore companies. With the exception of the Channel Islands, where the rate is nil, Cyprus has the lowest rate of corporate tax in **Europe**. The low-tax regime and also tax treaties between Cyprus and many other countries attract many companies involved in investment and financial holdings to the island. Due to very favorable tax agreements between Cyprus, several Eastern European countries, and Russia, a high proportion of registered offshore companies are from those areas.

**OMERIVE MOSQUE.** The mosque is located within the **Venetian Walls** in **Nicosia** and was originally the 14th-century Augustinian monastery of St. Mary, which was one of the three largest monasteries in the city during **Lusignan** rule. The Omeriye area was a wealthy part of Nicosia, and Lusignan noblemen were entombed at

### 122 • OMIROU, YIANNAKIS

the church. During the siege of Nicosia in 1570, much of the original building was destroyed. After the fall of the city, the **Ottomans** rebuilt the monastery and added a minaret. The mosque's floors were made out of engraved tombstones from the Lusignan period. The monastery was converted into a mosque in 1571 by Mustafa Pasha, as he believed that the Caliph Omar had rested at that site on his way to Egypt.

**OMIROU, YIANNAKIS (1951–).** Minister of defense of the **Republic of Cyprus** in 1998/1999. Born in **Paphos**, Yiannakis Omirou studied law at the University in Athens and went into private practice in 1976. From 1970 until 1974 while studying, he was active in the student movement against the Greek **military** dictatorship, taking part in the Law School sit-in and the Polytechnic uprising. As editor and broadcaster of the Paphos Free Broadcasting station, Omirou voiced his opposition to the **coup d'état** of 1974 and was subsequently arrested and imprisoned by the coupists.

On 4 January 1999, in protest at the cancellation of an order for the Russian S-300 missile system, Omirou resigned as the minister of defense, an appointment he had received only the previous year. Omirou succeeded **Vassos Lyssarides** to become **president** of the **Movement of Social Democrats EDEK** on 22 July 2001.

**OTHELLO'S TOWER.** Othello's Tower is a medieval fortress or citadel, which dates back to the 14th century when the island was under **Lusignan** rule. It was built for the protection of the harbor and the walled city of **Famagusta**. In 1492, the **Venetians** placed the Winged Lion of Venice, the official symbol of the Venetian Empire, along with the name of Nicolo Foscarino, the man who remodeled the tower, on a marble plaque above the entrance to Othello's Tower. The statue of the Winged Lion and the statue of Saint Theodoros, which once graced San Marco Square in Venice, were also brought to Othello's Tower. However, only the bases of the statues have survived to date and can be seen on the main square in Famagusta. Othello's Tower was originally surrounded by a moat, and it is thought that the Venetians had plans to join the moats with the sea.

Towers and corridors that lead to artillery chambers are the main characteristics of the citadel. A refectory or dining hall dating to 1300

is situated on one side of the large courtyard. Tall gothic arches support a vaulted roof. The small windows were unglazed and covered with pieces of cloth or carpets as protection against the elements. Defense was a priority so windows were small. Fires on one side of the courtyard would have been large enough to roast whole carcasses. Ottoman and Spanish cannons and cannon balls can be found in the courtyard.

The origin of the name of the tower is subject to conjecture and speculation. In Shakespeare's *Othello*, which takes place at "a seaport in Cyprus, Shakespeare makes Othello a Moor. Alternatively, the tower is believed to have been named after a Venetian governor.

**OTTOMAN RULE (1571–1878).** Cyprus was subject to numerous raids from the Ottoman Empire during Venetian rule. The Venetians fortified Famagusta, Kyrenia, and Nicosia in anticipation of the attacks. Undeterred by the Venetian presence on the island, the Ottomans attacked the Karpas Peninsula in 1489. Limassol was attacked in 1539. On 15 July 1570, the Ottomans launched a full-scale invasion led by Lala Mustafa Pasha, seizing full control of Limassol on 2 July 1570 and laying siege to Nicosia. Some 20,000 Cypriots were killed before Nicosia fell on 9 September. Kyrenia followed a few days later. However, the siege of Famagusta lasted nearly a year, and its fall in August 1571 denotes the beginning of the Ottoman rule in Cyprus. The Turkish defeat at the Battle of Lepanto two months later by the Holy League forces came too late to have any impact in Cyprus.

Upon annexation of the island to the Ottoman Empire, Lala Mustafa became the first Ottoman governor. The Ottoman Turks abolished serfdom, and the peasants were allowed to own land although they were heavily taxed. Under the millet system, **religious** authorities ruled over their communities; accordingly, the Greek Orthodox Church was set free from centuries of control by the Latin hierarchy. The Catholic Church, however, received an entirely differently treatment. The faithful had to convert to either **Islam** or Orthodoxy or face exile. The church buildings were appropriated and sold to the Orthodox Church. Some were transformed into mosques.

The millet system helped to establish a powerful group of community leaders, and a series of armed revolts against heavy taxation united both Greeks and Turks. The practice of selling the office of governor or *pasha* was common, and the principal concern of most governors was to recoup the cost of office and maximize their profit. The governor was relatively powerless and relied to a great extent on the community leaders to collect taxes. The Ottomans levied heavier taxes on **Greek Cypriots** and Latins, and as a result many converted to Islam. There were, however, those who converted to Islam but secretly practiced Christianity at home. They were known as *linobambaki*.

Greek Cypriot Archbishop Kyprianos grew influential and was officially recognized as the official representative of the Greek Cypriots in 1660. He was awarded the right of direct access to the sultan's palace in Istanbul, and in 1754 he was made responsible for the collection of taxes and later gained the right to appoint the dragoman of the serai, who was the head of the civil service.

In 1818, a namesake of his was initiated into the secret organization Philiki Etaireia, which planned to establish an independent Greek state by liberating Greek-speaking provinces from Ottoman rule. In 1820, Kyprianos rejected a request to join the armed struggle, feeling able to promise only financial and material support to the cause. When the Greek War of Independence began on 25 March 1821, many Cypriots left the island to fight. The Turkish governor or pasha of Cyprus, Kucuk Mehmet, reacted by arresting and executing prominent Greek Cypriots. On 9 July 1821, the governor closed the gates to Nicosia and executed 470 Greek Cypriots. Among those killed were the bishops of **Paphos**, Kition, and **Kyrenia**. Archbishop Kyprianou was hanged on the grounds of treachery. When peace was restored in 1830, the Ottoman sultan attempted to reorganize the administration of his empire. Although community leaders no longer collected taxes, which were now collected directly, few of the other reforms were put into place.

In 1878, the Congress of Berlin was convened to discuss Russian intentions over the disintegrating Ottoman Empire. Protection of the sea route to India was of the utmost importance to the British in the 19th century, and faced with an ever-expanding Russian Empire, they lent their support to the Ottomans. During the negotiations of 1878, Cyprus was acquired by **Great Britain** as a strategic place to better enable Britain to assist the Ottomans. The island retained the

nominal sovereignty of the Ottomans until it was formally annexed by Great Britain in 1914 and given the status of a British Crown colony in 1925.

OZGUR, OZKER (1940-2005). "Deputy prime minister" of the "Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus's (TRNC)" coalition administration in 1994. Ozgur was born in 1940 in Vretcha, Paphos. He pursued studies in Ankara, Turkey, and later at Moray House in Scotland. Upon returning to his homeland, he became an English teacher and was known by many of his peers and students as "hodj." Ozgur was the chairman of the Republican Turkish Party (RTP) for 20 years and the foreign affairs secretary of the United Cyprus Party (UCP). Throughout his political career, he was at odds with the Turkish Cypriot leader Rauf Denktash. He strived to support the interests of the Turkish Cypriots for equality, freedom, and peace. Under Ozgur, the Republican Turkish Party began to participate in rapprochement meetings with the Greek Cypriot Progressive Party of the Working People (AKEL). Ozgur was a man of principle and never appeared willing to compromise his beliefs for personal gain.

## – P –

**PAPADOPOULOS, TASSOS (1934–2008). President** of the **Republic of Cyprus** from 2003 to 2008. Born in **Nicosia** and educated as a lawyer at Gray's Inn, London, Papadopoulos practiced law in Nicosia until 16 February 2003, when he was elected president of the Republic of Cyprus.

He played an active role in the **National Organization of Cypriot Fighters' (EOKA)** action of 1955–1959 against **British rule**. He headed the Nicosia branch before becoming general head of the Political Committee of the Cypriot Struggle (PEKA), which was EOKA's political wing. Papadopoulos attended the London Conference of 1959 and voted, along with another person, against the adoption of the **London-Zurich Agreements**. He was one of only four **Greek Cypriot** delegates selected for the Constitutional Commission to draft the **constitution** of the new **Republic of Cyprus**.

## 126 • PAPAGOS, ALEXANDROS

Papadopoulos held successive high-ranking government posts, and between 1960 and 1972 served successively as minister of the interior, minister of finance, minister of labor and social insurance, minister of health, and minister of **agriculture** and natural resources. He was also the advisor to the Greek Cypriot representative, **Glafkos Clerides**, during the **intercommunal talks**. In April 1976, Papadopoulos replaced Clerides in his capacity as first representative and served until July 1978. Papadopoulos also acted as the Cypriot representative to the **United Nations** on many occasions.

In the **parliamentary elections** of 15 July 1970, Papadopoulos stood as an *Eniaion* (Unified) candidate for the **Nicosia** constituency and was duly elected a member of the **House of Representatives**. Reelected in the elections of 5 September 1976, he served as speaker of the House from April to October 1976. In 1991, Papadopoulos was once again elected to the House of Representatives as a **Democratic Party (DIKO)** candidate. He was elected as president of the Democratic Party on 7 October 2000 and again on 26 February 2005.

He was not in favor of the **Annan Plan**, and in the run-up to the **referendum** in 2004, he reportedly declared, "I received a state, I will not deliver a community." He successfully urged Greek Cypriots to reject the plan. In the first round of the 2008 presidential elections, Papadopoulos failed to win enough support to progress to the second round of voting. In the second round, **Demetris Christofias** beat his rival **Ioannis Cassoulides** to become the next president of the Republic of Cyprus.

PAPAGOS, ALEXANDROS (1883–1955). Prime minister of Greece from 1952 to 1955. Born in Athens, Alexandros Papagos had a long and distinguished military career and rose to the rank of field marshal before entering the political arena later in life. Papagos fought in the Balkan Wars of 1912–1913 and was captured by the Germans during World War II. He was liberated in 1945 and resumed his career in the Hellenic army, going on to direct operations against the Greek communist resistance fighters. He achieved the rank of field marshal in 1949. In May 1951, Papagos resigned from the military to found the "Greek Rally" (*Ellinikos Synagermos*), a new political party based on Charles de Gaulle's *Rassemblement de Peuple Français*. The party rapidly gained popularity throughout Greece. In the **parliamentary elections** of 16 November 1952, the Greek Rally won a decisive victory with 49 percent of the vote and 239 of 300 seats. Papagos became premier of Greece but died on 4 October 1955 while still in office. During his premiership, **Greek Cypriots** pressured Athens to advance the cause of *enosis*.

PAPANDREOU, ANDREAS (1919–1996). Prime minister of Greece from 1981 to 1989, and from 1993 to 1996. Papandreou is the founder of the Pan-Hellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK), established in the mid-1970s. In 1977, he became the opposition leader.

The **Cyprus problem** was always an aspect in Greco-Turkish relations, and in 1986 the **United States** condemned Papandreou for his seemingly anti-Turkish policy, perceived by Washington to have been the source of **Greek Cypriot** intransigence in the **intercommunal** negotiations.

**PAPANDREOU, GEORGE** (**1888–1968**). Prime minister of **Greece** from 1944 to 1945 and from 1963 to 1965. Born in Kalentzi, Greece, Papandreou was a lawyer by profession but became involved in politics in the 1920s. He was a lifelong antiroyalist and was exiled in 1936. He formed a government in exile in Egypt, and then served as prime minister from 1944 until 1945. As head of the Center Union Party, he served again as Greek premier in 1963 and 1964–1965. King Constantine II was opposed to Papandreou's government and a disagreement led to the dismissal of the government and the premier's resignation on 15 July 1965. Following the military coup of 1967, Papandreou was placed under house arrest, where he died in 1968.

Papandreou was against the Zurich Agreement that led to the creation of the **Republic of Cyprus**. He supported the legally elected **government** of Archbishop **Makarios III** and believed that the **Cyprus problem** should not be subject to Greco-Turkish negotiations, instead favoring the involvement of the **United Nations**. Following the outbreak of hostilities between the two communities in Cyprus (1963–1964), Papandreou dispatched a Greek army division to the island. *See also* GREECE; TURKEY.

**PAPHOS.** Paphos is located on the southwestern coast of the island and is a popular **tourist** resort with a population of approximately 47,300. The town can be split into Ktima, which is the main residential district, and Kato Paphos, which is built around the harbor and is the center of the tourist district. A castle built by the **Lusignans** in the 13th century stands on the harbor. The castle was destroyed toward the end of the **Venetian** era in 1570, but the **Ottomans** rebuilt and strengthened it after defeating the Venetians. *Paleapahos* or Old Paphos is located at Kouklia village, which is approximately 11 kilometers east of the present-day Paphos. Kouklia village is also the location of the **Sanctuary of Aphrodite**, a shrine to the cult of the goddess closely associated with Paphos. Aphrodite's birthplace is located south of the city and is known as Aphrodite's Rock or *Petra tou Romiou*. The **Baths of Aphrodite** to the north, close to the **Akamas Peninsula**, are supposed to enhance fertility. The Ayios Neophytos Monastery, known for its *encleistra*, that is, enclosure, carved out of the mountain by a hermit, can be found northeast of Paphos.

Some other important historical sites include the Tombs of the Kings, dated to the third century BC; the beautiful and well-preserved 16th-century mosaics at the Houses of Dionysos, Theseus, and Aion; the Odeon Theatre; the remains of the ancient city walls; the Roman Agora; and a building dedicated to Asclepios, god of medicine. There are also remains of the villas belonging to the Roman nobility dating from the third to the fifth centuries AD. They feature mosaic floors with mostly Greek mythological themes, which are among the finest examples in the Eastern Mediterranean. A significant number of antiquities from the Paphos area, covering the Neolithic Age to 1700 AD, can be found in the District Archaeological Museum as well as in the Byzantine Museum in Nicosia. Not only home to some of the island's most important archeological sites, Paphos is also on the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) list of cultural and natural treasures of the world's heritage.

Paphos is thought to have been established by King Nicocles. In 312 BC, Ptolemy captured Marion (present-day **Polis Chrysochous**), and at around the same time he also captured *Nea* Paphos. The town replaced **Salamis** as the island's capital because the Ptolemies favored a location closer to Alexandria. Under Ptomelaic rule, Paphos thrived and became an important administrative and cultural center. During the Roman Era, Paphos became the seat of the Roman governor, and it was in this town that **Saint Paul** converted the Roman governor, Sergius Paulus, to Christianity. Saint Paul was allegedly tied to a pillar, which can still be seen today, and was given 40 lashes save one by the Jews, as was the custom at that time. There are many catacomb sites in the city that date back to the early Christian period when Christianity was forbidden. A sacred tree stands at the entrance of Saint Solomoni Church, a Christian catacomb containing some 12th-century frescoes. The tree is thought to possess therapeutic properties and believers still hang a personal offering, usually fabric, on its branches in the hope that their wishes will be granted.

The town's decline began with the destructive earthquakes of AD 332 and 342. Following the **Arab raids** of the 7th to 10th centuries, **Nicosia** replaced Paphos as the island's capital. Nicosia's more sheltered inland location afforded more protection against attacks. As Paphos was no longer the island's administrative center, it continued to decline throughout the Middle Ages although the harbor was strengthened to receive Crusader ships en route to the Holy Land. *Ktima* (property) was also established in this period, and the area became a large **feudal** estate.

During the Venetian and Ottoman eras, Paphos was largely neglected as Nicosia and the port cities of **Larnaca** and **Famagusta** gained in importance. **British rule** saw continued decline as many Paphos inhabitants relocated to other areas, although the British did build new administrative buildings in the town.

When the island's major tourist resorts, **Kyrenia** and Famagusta, were occupied by Turkish troops in the **invasion** of 1974, Paphos and the surrounding areas benefited from major private and government investments, experiencing rapid growth in tourism. An airport was built just to the south of the town and the government improved the road infrastructure and built dams and water distribution networks. *See also* PAPHOS CASTLE.

**PAPHOS CASTLE.** The site of Paphos castle was originally a **Byzantine** fort built to protect the harbor. The structure was rebuilt by the **Lusignans** in the 13th century only to be destroyed during the **Venetian** rule in 1570. Upon defeating the **Lusignans** and capturing the island, the **Ottomans** rebuilt the castle. Under Ottoman rule, the

### 130 • PARLIAMENT

ground floor of the castle was used primarily as a prison with two underground cells, which were used to house long-term convicts. The first floor was used as a mosque. The **British** utilized the castle as a warehouse and used it mainly for salt storage. However, in 1935, Paphos castle was declared an ancient monument and is now treated as such.

# **PARLIAMENT.** *See* HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, REPUBLIC OF CYPRUS.

**PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS, REPUBLIC OF CYPRUS.** According to the 1960 **Constitution**, the **House of Representatives** should consist of 50 representatives: 35 (70%) **Greek Cypriots** and 15 (30%) **Turkish Cypriots** elected by their respective communities. A special law adopted in 1985 allowed for an increase in the number of seats to 80 (56 Greek Cypriots and 24 Turkish Cypriots).

In 1963, intercommunal hostilities brought to an end the participation of Turkish Cypriots in **government**. Turkish Cypriot seats in the House of Representatives remain vacant to this day. *See also* HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, REPUBLIC OF CYPRUS.

Party	Votes	Percentage	Seats
AKEL	131,066	31.13	18
DISY	127,776	30.34	18
DIKO	75,458	17.92	11
EDEK	37,533	8.91	5
evro.ko	24,196	5.75	3
Ecological and Environmental			
Movement/Cyprus Green Party	8,193	1.95	1
EDI	6,567	1.56	0
KEP	5,157	1.22	0
EVRO.DE	1,844	0.44	0

## **Parliamentary Election Results 2006**

Registered voters: 501,024. Voted: 445,915 (89%). Valid: 421,087 (94.43%). Invalid: 14,724 (3.30%). Abstained: 55,109 (11%). Blank: 10,104 (2.27%)

## "PARLIAMENTARY" ELECTIONS, TURKISH-ADMINISTERED AREA. The Turkish Cypriot "Assembly" has 50 members, wherein the

current voting majority rests with the **National Unity Party (NUP)**. In spite of the **"Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus"** not being recognised internationally, there are intercommunal contacts between the members of political parties on both sides of the island. *See also* "HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES," TURKISH-ADMINISTERED AREA.

## "Parliamentary" Election Results 2009

The latest "parliamentary" elections of 19 April 2009, were held with seven parties contesting 50 seats. The main opposition party, the **National Unity Party**, earned 26 seats, enabling it to form a "government" without the need for a coalition. The **Republican National Party** of Turkish Cypriot leader **Mehmet Ali Talat** lost 15 percent of its vote compared to previous elections of 2005 and received only 15 seats.

Parties	Percentage	Seats
National Unity Party (Ulusal Birlik Partisi)	44.07	26
Republican Turkish Party (Cumhuriyetçi Türk Partisi)	29.15	15
Democratic Party (Demokrat Partisi)	10.65	5
Communal Democracy Party (Toplumcu Demokrasi Partisi)	6.87	2
Freedom and Reform Party		
(Özgürlük ve Reform Partisi)	6.2	2

PAUL, SAINT. Also known as Paul of Tarsus (birthplace) and in Hebrew as Saul. Paul traveled to Cyprus with Saint Barnabas and John Mark, their attendant, around AD 45–46. They are believed to have landed in Salamis on the island's eastern coast and are said to have traveled from east to west, probably passing through Citium, Amathus, Kourion, and Palaepaphos before finally reaching Paphos. In Paphos, the heart of the Roman administration, they met and converted the Roman governor, Sergius Paulus, to Christianity. Prior to meeting the governor, Paul received 40 lashes save one from the town's Jews. The Bible documents an encounter that the missionaries had with Bar-Jesus, a member of the governor's entourage, masquerading as a prophet but who was in truth a Jewish sorcerer. BarJesus tried to prevent Sergius Paulus from converting to Christianity but Paul "fastened his eyes on him" and blinded him "for a season."

### 132 • PEACE AND DEMOCRACY MOVEMENT

Following the governor's conversion, the missionaries remained on the island for a time. Paul was beheaded around AD 67 in Rome.

- **PEACE AND DEMOCRACY MOVEMENT (PDM)**/BARIS VE DEMOKRASI HAREKETI (BDH). A social democratic party (Turkish Cypriot) that merged with the Communal Liberation Party in May 2007 to form the Communal Democracy Party. The last leader of the party was Mustafa Akinci.
- **PEACE AND FREEDOM MONUMENT.** The monument is built on the seashore eight kilometers west of **Kyrenia**. The location is of importance because it is where the Turkish **invasion** began on 20 July 1974 when Turkish troops landed on the island. The 41.75meter-high, leaning monument was inaugurated on 20 July 1978. A museum, commemorating the Turkish soldiers who fell during the 1974 hostilities, is located alongside the monument.
- **PEDIEOS RIVER.** The Pedieos River is the longest river on the island and is approximately 97 kilometers long. The river emerges in the **Troodos** mountain range and flows in a northeasterly direction toward the island's capital, **Nicosia**. The Pedieos then flows across the island's central plain, the Mesaoria, and into **Famagusta** Bay.
- PEREZ DE CUELLAR, JAVIER (1920–). Javier Perez de Cuellar, a Peruvian diplomat, was appointed United Nations (UN) secretarygeneral in 1982. He had previously served under his predecessor as the UN Special Representative to Cyprus and was thus fully aware of the complexities of the Cyprus problem. Upon his appointment to the post of secretary-general, Perez de Cuellar met with both Greek Cypriot President Spyros Kyprianou and the Turkish Cypriot leader Rauf Denktash in April 1982. He believed that the intercommunal talks were the best way to continue peacemaking efforts. During his term, the UN launched a number of initiatives that aimed to settle the island's problem peacefully.

In August 1983, the UN sent a proposal, referred to as The Initiative, to the leaders of the island's communities. The fundamental aspects of The Initiative included:

- A rotating presidency (Greek Cypriot, Turkish Cypriot).
- A bicameral rather than unicameral legislature.
- Executive branch: 60 percent Greek Cypriots to 40 percent Turkish Cypriots as opposed to the 70:30 ratio in the 1960 **Constitution**.
- The amount of territory to be given back by the Turks would be 8–13 percent (a reduction in occupied territory from 37% to either 29 or 24%).

The Greek Cypriots rejected The Initiative. The main stumbling blocks were freedom of movement, the right to settlement, and property rights.

On 15 November 1983, Rauf Denktash issued a Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) that completely derailed The Initiative. The "Turkish Federated State of Cyprus (TFSC)" was renamed the "Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC)."

On 11 January 1984, Spyros Kyprianou presented a proposal to Secretary-General Perez de Cuellar for a settlement to the Cyprus problem. The proposal outlined the demilitarization of Cyprus, an international force under UN auspices to maintain peace and security, international guarantees with no interested country as a party to the guarantee, and a genuine federation.

Perez de Cuellar summarized the proposal in a conversation with Rauf Denktash, and on 16 March 1984 the two met in New York, where the secretary-general asked Denktash to stop the consolidation of the "TRNC" and refrain from seeking recognition for it. The five-point plan failed to win the support of the Turkish Cypriot leadership.

On 7 August 1984, Perez de Cuellar presented the Vienna Working Points to the representatives of the two communities. The initial reactions were positive, and the Vienna Working Points led to the **Proximity Talks**.

**PERSIAN RULE (525–333 BC).** At this time Cyprus was divided into several city-kingdoms, which functioned autonomously, though officially they were loyal allies of the Persian conquerors of Egypt. Each kingdom was permitted to mint its own coinage unimpeded by restrictions regarding the images to be shown on the coins.

The fifth century BC witnessed a pan-Hellenic battle for independence, with Ioanian Greeks rising against Persian rule in 499. The King of **Salamis** was dethroned by his brother, Onesilos, on the grounds that he opposed the fight for independence. Except for **Amathus**, all Cyprus city-kingdoms joined in the independence struggle. The Persians reacted swiftly and suppressed the revolt, which culminated in sieges of **Paphos** and Soli. Despite several Greek expeditions sent to the island to bolster Onesilos's troops, the Persians emerged victorious.

The result of the revolt was greater control by the Persian Empire, which favored the **Phoenicians** as opposed to the Greek elements of the society. The throne of Salamis was taken by a Phoenician and it was only in 411 that Evagoras I seized the throne. Evagoras adopted a pro-Hellenic stance and encouraged Greeks from the Aegean to settle the island. The Persians defeated Evagoras in 381, and he was assassinated three years later.

Alexander the Great defeated the Persians in 333 at the Battle of Issus. The Cypriot kings transferred their allegiance to Alexander and joined him in the siege of Tyre. Alexander took Tyre in 332 and brought Persian control of the island to an end.

**PHOENICIANS (CANAANITES).** The Phoenicians came from the Syrian/Lebanese coast and settled across the **Mediterranean** in Cyprus, Sicily, Sardinia, North Africa, Spain, and Morocco. They were considered to be the greatest sea traders and shipbuilders of their time.

By the mid-ninth century BC, the Phoenicians had established settlements in Cyprus. The principal Phoenician colony on the island was Citium (Kition), although **Amathus** also had a strong Phoenician character. There were additional settlements in Tamassos, Idalion, and Lapithos. The Phoenicians sided with the **Persians** during the Pan-Hellenic struggle for **independence** during the fifth century BC. *See also* PERSIAN RULE.

PLATRES. A village on the Troodos range of mountains above Limassol. Platres is built on the mountainside, and the average altitude is 1,200 meters. The village is one of 119 settlements of the Limassol district that existed during the Lusignan (1192–1489) and the Ve**netian** eras (1489–1571). Platres is dry during the summer months, with little or no humidity, and has one of the highest annual rainfalls on the island.

The village has approximately 250 permanent inhabitants, although during the summer months its population swells with the influx of **tourists**. Most of the village's permanent inhabitants are employed in either the tourist industry or **agriculture**. One of the main attractions in Platres is the waterfall of Millomeri in the southeastern part of the village. "*Millos*" in the Cypriot dialect means moist or wet and "*meros*" means place, so Millomeri literally means *wet place*. The 15-meter-high waterfall was inaccessible until quite recently, when a road and a path were built to access the site.

**PLAZA REPORT.** The intercommunal problems of 1963–1964 prompted a unanimous decision by the **United Nations (UN)** Security Council to establish the **United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP)**. A UN mediator was also appointed to assess the situation and search for a solution.

On 26 March 1965, a report by the UN mediator to Cyprus, Galo Lasso Plaza, was distributed to members of the Security Council. The report was, in effect, a history and overview of the **Cyprus problem**. Plaza examined not only the internal dynamics of the problem but also the positions of the parties concerned (**Great Britain**, **Greece**, and **Turkey**). The report was meant to be a basis for a new initiative to solve the impasse. Plaza placed emphasis on the fact that Cyprus should remain **independent**. He also advised that the island should be demilitarized and that there should be no physical separation of the two communities. Turkey and the **Turk-ish Cypriots** rejected the plan, claiming that Plaza had acted as an arbitrator and not a mediator.

**POLIS CHRYSOCHOUS (POLIS).** A small town in the northwest part of Cyprus, which serves as the administrative center for the 23 communities in the area. Polis is located close to the **Akamas Peninsula**. According to legend, the Cape of Akamas and the legendary city of Akamantis were named after the city's founder, Akamas, son of Theseus, who, while returning from the Trojan War, is reported to have disembarked near Polis.

### 136 • POLITICAL PARTIES, GREEK CYPRIOT

During the Mycenaeans's migration to Cyprus in the period between 1400 and 1100 BC, Polis developed into a city-kingdom known as Marion. Marion was destroyed after a battle for the island between Antigonus and Ptolemy. The King of Marion had sided with Antigonus during the battle. As an act of revenge, the victor, Ptolemy, laid waste to the city.

A new city was built on the ruins of Marion by Philadelphus, who named it after his wife, Arsinoe. Arsinoe prospered during the Hellenistic and Roman eras. First references made to Chrysochou appear in the late Middle Ages. Polis Chrysochou was also used in later periods.

Local inhabitants are employed in **tourism**, **agriculture**, and fishing.

**POLITICAL PARTIES, GREEK CYPRIOT.** The political system of Cyprus is composed predominantly along ethnic lines, entrenched in the 1960 **Constitution** that only allowed voters in each community to elect representatives of their own community. Thus, the existence of separate political parties preceded the division of Cyprus in 1974. Both **Greek** and **Turkish Cypriots** have different viewpoints represented by various political parties. Greek Cypriot parties are usually older and more experienced, but contacts between the parties of the two communities, with few exceptions, have usually taken place outside of political developments regarding the **Cyprus problem**. On the electoral behavior of Cypriots, a large degree of loyalty to parties passes from older to younger generations. Evidence, however, shows that this is slowly changing.

- Progressive Party for the Working People (AKEL)/ Anorthotiko Komma Ergazomenou Laou/Ανορθωτικό Κόμμα Εργαζομενού Λαού (AKEL).
- Democratic Rally (DISY)/Dimokratikos Synagermos/ Δημοκρατικοζ Συναγερμόζ(ΔΗΣΥ).
- Democratic Party (DIKO)/Dimokratiko Komma/Δημοκρατικο Κόμμα (ΕΔΕΚ).
- Movement of Social Democrats (EDEK)/Kinima Socialdimokraton Eniea Dimokratiki Enosi Kentrou/Κινίνα Σοσιαλζημοκρατών Δημοκρατικη Ενωση Κεντρου (ΕΔΕΚ).

- Democratic Socialist Renewal Movement (ADISOK)/ *Anorthotiko Dimokratiko Sosialistiko Kinima/Ανορθωτικό Δνμοκρατικό Σοσιαλιστικό Κίνημα (ΑΔΗΣΟΚ)*-split from AKEL in 1990 and was merged with Free Democrats in 1996. *See also* UNITED DEMOCRATS.
- The Cyprus Green Party (Ecological-Environmental Movement)/Kinima Oikologon Perivallontiston/Κίνημα Οικολόγων Περιβαλλωντιστων.
- United Democrats (EDI)/Enomenoi Dimokrates/ $E\nu\omega\mu\epsilon'\nuo\iota$  $\Delta\eta\mu\sigma\kappa\rho\epsilon'\tau\epsilon\zeta'(E\Delta H).$
- New Horizons/Neoi Orizontes(NE.O)/Νέοι Ορίζοντεδ– functioned until 2005 when it merged with European Democratic party into European Party.
- European Democracy (EURO.DE)/Evropaiki Dimokratial Evp $\omega\pi\alpha\ddot{\alpha}\kappa\eta'(EYPO.\Delta H)$ -established in 2004 as the result of the DISY split over the Annan Plan and functioned until 2005 when it merged into the European party together with the New Horizons party.
- European Party (EVRO.KO)/Evropaiko Komma/Ευρωπαϊκό Κόμμα (EYPO.KO).
- **POLITICAL PARTIES, TURKISH CYPRIOT.** Political parties being set up along ethnic lines, **Turkish Cypriots** had separate representation in the **House of Representatives**. However, in 1975, after the establishment of the **"Turkish Federated State of Cyprus** (**TFSC**)," Turkish Cypriot political parties found expression in a separate, albeit unrecognized, political system. Since then Turkish Cypriot politics has been dominated by the first four in the following list.

Full list of Turkish Cypriot parties:

- Republican Turkish Party (RTP)/Cumhuriyetçi Türk Partisi (CTP)
- National Unity Party (NUP)/Ulusal Birlik Partisi (UBP)
- **Democratic Party (DP)**/*Demokrat Partisi (DP)*
- Communal Democracy Party (CDP)/Toplumcu Demokrasi Partisi (TDP)

138 • PORTS

- Freedom and Reform Party (FRP)/Özgürlük ve Reform Partisi (ORP)
- Communal Liberation Party (CLP)/Toplumcu Kurtuluş Partisi (TKP)
- Peace and Democracy Movement (PDM)/Barış ve Demokrasi Hareketi (BDH)
- New Party (NP)/Yeni Parti (YP)
- United Cyprus Party (UCP)/Birleşik Kıbrıs Partisi (BKP)
- Cyprus Justice Party (CJP)/Kıbrıs Adalet Partisi (KAP)
- Nationalistic Justice Party (NJP)/Milliyetçi Adalet Partisi (MAP)
- New Cyprus Party (NCP)/Yeni Kibris Partisi (YRP)
- **PORTS.** The major port facilities of Cyprus are the two harbors of **Limassol** and **Larnaca**. The third port of **Famagusta**, located in the north part of the island, is closed to shipping and has been an illegal port of entry since the Turkish **invasion** of 1974.

Until 1973, the port in Famagusta handled 83 percent of the total general cargo and 49 percent of the total passenger traffic to and from the island. After the de facto partition of the island, two new multipurpose ports were built on the outskirts of the two major commercial and industrial towns to replace outdated facilities and to counter the loss of Famagusta. According to the **Annan Plan** the **United Nations** (**UN**) proposed in 2004, it was suggested that the port in Famagusta would reopen to serve both communities.

Limassol harbor, the largest port in Cyprus, is located just outside the city. Two-thirds of local container traffic and/or transshipped cargo and the entire grain imports are handled by the port. At present, more than 90 percent of the island's passenger traffic also passes through this port. As a container port, Limassol provides two terminals with six gantry cranes and an annual capacity of 600.000 twenty-foot equivalent units (TEUs). It is a main regional stop for international cruise liners and a center for small excursions in the region, including the Greek islands, North African coastline, and Middle Eastern countries.

Larnaca harbor is the nearest seaport both to **Nicosia**, the country's capital, and the important southeastern **agricultural** land and **tourist** resorts of Cyprus. The port handles passengers and cargo and is the island's major service port for the export of agricultural products.

Other significant activities in the port include transshipment of containers and cars. In terms of general policy and jurisdiction, the Cyprus Ports Authority (CPA) administers the ports.

**PRESIDENT, REPUBLIC OF CYPRUS.** Comparatively more powerful nationally than its counterparts in the world, the office of presidency in the **Republic of Cyprus** stands as the head of state and **government**. The office was established in 1960, after Cyprus gained its **independence** from **Great Britain**.

Since the intercommunal strife of 1963–1964 and the withdrawal of **Turkish Cypriots** from the organs of the Republic, the office of vice president, **constitutionally** belonging to a Turkish Cypriot, has remained vacant. Following the 1974 **coup d'état**, **Turkey invaded** the island on 20 July and 15 August 1974, leading in 1983 to the **Unilateral Declaration of Independence** by the Turkish Cypriot leadership; the de facto "**Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus** (**TRNC**)," however, is recognized only by Turkey.

Under Articles 47 and 48 of the Constitution, the following are at the discretion of the president:

- appointment of the Council of Ministers members;
- convening meetings of the Council of Ministers and preparing the agenda for the meeting. The president attends and participates in such meetings, but does not have the right to vote, although he has the right of final veto on decisions of the Council of Ministers regarding foreign affairs, defense, or security;
- recourse to the Supreme Constitutional Court;
- the design and color of the **flag** of the Republic;
- compulsory **military** service;
- the increase or decrease of security forces.

Currently, the president of Cyprus is **Demetris Christofias**, who was elected in February 2008. Former presidents of the Republic were:

Archbishop Makarios III, who was elected in 1959 and subsequently reelected in 1968 and 1973. He served as president until his death in 1977.

- **Spyros Kyprianou**, who temporarily assumed the duties of president following the death of President Makarios in 1977. He was elected in 1978, reelected in 1983 and served as president until 1988.
- **George Vasiliou**, who was elected in 1988 and served as president until 1993.
- **Glafkos Clerides**, who was elected in 1993 and reelected in 1998. He served as president until February 2003.
- **Tassos Papadopulos**, who was elected in 2003 and served until 2008. *See also* HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, REPUBLIC OF CYPRUS.

"PRESIDENT," TURKISH-ADMINISTERED AREA. The Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) by the Turkish Cypriot leadership in 1983 led to the de facto establishment of the "Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC)," recognized only by Turkey and deemed illegal by the international community and successive United Nations (UN) resolutions. It should be noted that the first and only vice president of the Republic of Cyprus was Fazil Kuchuk from the Turkish Cypriot community. The "TRNC" places executive power in the hands of a "president." He or she presides over meetings of the "Council of Ministers" without the right to vote and is responsible for carrying out public affairs in an impartial, uninterrupted, and orderly manner. Unlike the "prime minister" and "ministers," who are accountable for their acts, the "president" does not bear responsibility for acts committed in the execution of his official functions.

The "president" appoints the "prime minister" from among "Assembly" deputies (*see* "HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES," TURKISH-ADMINISTERED AREA) and also appoints ministers based on his proposal. He or she also has the power to return laws enacted by the "Assembly" and asks the Supreme Court for its opinion as to whether any law or decision of the "Assembly" is repugnant to, or inconsistent with, the constitution.

The "president" is elected for a period of five years. He or she has to be of Cypriot parentage, a resident of Cyprus for at least five years, and more than 30 years of age. He or she must also be a graduate of an institution of higher education. **Rauf Denktash** became the first "president" of the "TRNC" on 15 November 1983. He was

later reelected in June 1985, April 1990, April 1995, and April 2000. In February 2005, **Mehmet Ali Talat** was elected to succeed him. Internationally, "TRNC" "presidents" are regarded as leaders of the Turkish Cypriot community.

**PRESIDENTIAL PALACE.** The headquarters of the **British** Colonial Administration prior to Cypriot **independence** in 1960. **Government** House was burned to the ground in 1931 during a demonstration in support of *enosis* with **Greece**. The British constructed a new building, the current Presidential Palace, which typifies the fine architectural style of the British period.

The building was damaged during the **coup d'état** of 1974. On 15 July 1974, troops and tanks under the direction of Greek **military** officers stormed the Presidential Palace. **Archbishop Makarios** escaped and, helped by the British, sought temporary refuge abroad. The **National Guard**, with the directions of the Greek junta, proceeded to form a puppet **government**.

- **PRESS.** There is a lively press on the island. In the **government**-controlled area, there is an English-language daily and two weeklies. The remainder are published in **Greek**. Details appear below.
  - *Alithia.* A Greek-language daily aligned to the **Democratic Rally** (**DISY**) party.
  - *Cyprus Mail*. An English daily, with the exception of Mondays. It is known to be more pro pragmatic side of **Greek Cypriot** politics.
  - *Cyprus Weekly*. Published every Friday. This English-language weekly used to take a more nationalist line in Greek Cypriot politics but has recently changed ownership and may thus adopt a different approach.
  - *Financial Mirror*. Published every Wednesday. Established since 1993, it focuses mainly on financial aspects of Cyprus. It has a Greek supplement.
  - *Haravgi*. A Greek-language daily aligned to the **Progressive Party for the Working People (AKEL)**.
  - *Mahi* is the Greek-language ultra-right daily.

- 142 PROGRESSIVE PARTY FOR THE WORKING PEOPLE
  - *Philelephtheros.* A Greek-language daily with a large circulation among Cypriots. It is noted for its rather independent line in Cypriot politics.
  - *Politis*. A Greek-language daily with political views considered to be center-right, but independently owned and mostly opposition oriented.
  - *Simerini*. One of the more popular Greek-language dailies on the island, with a daily circulation of approximately 9,000 copies, *Simerini* is independently owned and was first published in 1976.

As for the **Turkish Cypriot** press, there are two weeklies in English and a number in the **Turkish** language. Details appear below.

- *Cyprus Today*. The most widely read foreign-language periodical in northern Cyprus. It is in English and comes out weekly.
- *Cyprus Observer*. Another English-language weekly but with more political input. It is also distributed in **Great Britain**.
- *Afrika*. A Turkish-language daily more in line with the **National Unity Party (NUP)**.
- Birlik. Considered to be a center-right newspaper.
- *Halkin Sesi*. One of the oldest newspapers of the Turkish Cypriot community. It is center-right oriented. However, on the Cyprus issue, it strongly supports the National Unity Party (NUP).
- *Vatan.* Ultra-right daily in Turkish with nationalistic content. It supports the position of the National Unity Party.
- *Volkan*. A nationalistic right-wing daily in Turkish. It expresses strong nationalistic views and is in line with the National Unity Party (NUP).
- *Yeni Duzen*. One of few leftist media resources in North Cyprus. The newspaper is a supporter of the ruling **Republican Turkish Party (RTP)**.
- *Kibris*. One of the biggest in circulation in north Cyprus, with a rather independent stand.

## **PROGRESSIVE PARTY OF THE WORKING PEOPLE** (AKEL)/ANORTHOTIKO KOMMA ERGAZOMENOU LAOU (AKEL)/ANOPΘΩTIK'O K'OMMA EPΓAZ'OMENOY ΛΑΟΎ (AKEΛ). AKEL is a left-wing party based on socialist principles that allows for current international political and economic developments. With regard to the Cyprus problem, AKEL

favors an independent, demilitarized Cyprus with a federal system of **government**. The party favors rapprochement with the **Turkish Cypriot** community. **Demetris Christofias**, the **president** of the **Republic of Cyprus** since 2008, was the general-secretary of AKEL until January 2009, when Andros Kyprianou succeeded him. In 2001, Christofias had been elected speaker of the **House of Representatives**.

AKEL was founded in 1941 as a successor to the Communist Party of Cyprus (CPC). The CPC held its first congress in 1926, but the **British** authorities declared it illegal in 1931. Leading members of the CPC then established AKEL, and the parties operated in tandem until 1944, when it was decided that two separate organizations were not necessary. As the CPC had been operating illegally since the British banned it, it merged into AKEL. The CPC had always favored an **independent** Cyprus and opposed *enosis* (union with **Greece**), which was the main aim of most **Greek Cypriots**. While AKEL did not oppose *enosis*, it did not support immediate union with **Greece**, preferring a more gradual progression toward that end. The journey would have begun with the creation of a constitution that would have led into self-government, self-determination, and *enosis*. AKEL believed that during the process, Cyprus should have remained under the **British rule**.

In 1949, following the failure of the consultative assembly to devise a constitution that would be acceptable to the Cypriot delegation, AKEL altered its approach, supporting immediate *enosis* with no intermediate stages.

Between 1955 and 1959, AKEL was declared illegal by the British, even though it was opposed to the tactics of the anti-British resistance movement, the **National Organization of Cypriot Fighters (EOKA)**. EOKA accused AKEL of collaborating with the British, and assassinated several AKEL members for treason. EOKA's leadership was branded anticommunist by AKEL because George Grivas, EOKA's leader, had fought against the communist side during the Greek Civil War.

EOKA's fight for *enosis* was challenged by the goal of *taksim* (partition) of the **Turkish Cypriot Resistance Organization** (**TMT**). The TMT started to force Turkish Cypriot members of AKEL to withdraw their support from the party. After Fazil Onder, the workers' newspaper editor, was killed, Ahmet Sadi, the

head of the Turkish bureau of the Pancyprian Federation of Labor (PEO) (AKEL's trade union), fled to **Great Britain** to avoid the same fate. The TMT murdered Dervis Ali Kavazoglu, the last Turkish Cypriot to be a member of the central committee of AKEL, in 1965.

In the 2003 presidential elections, AKEL, **Democratic Party** (**DIKO**), and the **Movement of Social Democrats** (**EDEK**) supported the DIKO president, **Tassos Papadopoulos** for the position of president of the Republic. AKEL also succeeded in obtaining two out of six seats in the **European** Parliament elections in 2004 and 2009. In **parliamentary elections** on 27 May 2001, AKEL secured 34.71 percent of votes (20 seats); in 2006, AKEL received 131,066 votes and 18 seats (31.13%).

**PROTARAS.** A resort town on the southeastern coast of Cyprus. It neighbors the village of Paralimni and is only a short drive from **Ayia Napa**, a tourist haven, and Cape Greco, all believed to be among the island's most beautiful places.

Protaras has been developed predominantly to serve northern **European** holidaymakers and has a reputation for some of the most attractive beaches on the island. As a holiday resort, it lacks the authentic Cypriot atmosphere. The architecture of the town is made of rather aesthetically hectic concrete buildings.

A reminder of the distant past is partially preserved in the 13thcentury **church**, dedicated to the Virgin Mary (Panagia), where a small ecclesiastical museum is located.

PROXIMITY TALKS. The talks were conducted in three rounds and led to the High-Level Summit of January 1985 in New York between Spyros Kyprianou, the president of Cyprus, and the Greek Cypriot representative, and the Turkish Cypriot leader, Rauf Denktash. The talks were held under the auspices of the United Nations (UN) and led to Secretary-General Perez de Cuellar devising a "draft agreement" that was eventually rejected.

In the first round, from 10 September to 20 September 1984, the UN secretary-general proposed three topics for discussion: **confidence-building measures**, the structure of federal government, and territorial

adjustments. He also encouraged the recommitment of the two sides to the **High-Level Agreements of 1977 and 1979** and the points agreed during the **intercommunal talks**. Although it had been recommended that the negotiations should remain confidential, details were leaked to the **press**. The first round ended with little progress having been made.

The second round of talks began on 15 October and lasted until 26 October 1984. The secretary-general set the agenda. Once again, the confidentiality agreement was broached, and details of the talks appeared in the press. The main points on the agenda were the acceptance of the 1977 and 1979 High-Level Agreements and the establishment of the bicommunal and bizonal Federal **Republic of Cyprus**. The talks also included acceptance of constitutional points already agreed in the 1981–1983 intercommunal meetings. Other main points of discussion were the powers and functions of central **government**, such as federal finance and federal judiciary; the issue of a bicameral legislature with an upper chamber with a 50:50 ratio and a lower chamber with a 70:30 ratio; and the establishment of equal political status between president and vice president. At the end of the second round, the secretary-general announced that progress had been made.

The third round began on 26 November. The secretary-general had requested that the parties establish their final positions and presented them with a draft agreement. The main points of the draft agreement included:

- A bicameral legislature consisting of an upper chamber (50:50) and lower chamber (70:30).
- A Greek Cypriot president and a Turkish Cypriot vice president.
- A cabinet made up of seven Greek Cypriot and three Turkish Cypriot ministers.
- A constitutional court and a territory designating 29 percent of the island to Turkish Cypriots.

From 17 until 20 January 1986 in New York, Kyprianou and Denktash met for a high-level meeting. Although Secretary-General de Cuellar was optimistic, the draft agreement failed to get the agreement of the two leaders, and as a result the Proximity Talks ended in failure. The main objections of Greek Cypriots to the draft agreement were centered on the issue of the powers/functions of the central government. During the third round, Kyprianou presented the secretary-general with suggestions on the preliminary draft and declined to sign the draft agreement. The Turkish Cypriot side accepted the secretary-general's draft agreement in its entirety. One area of contention involved the powers and functions of the central government, which the Turkish Cypriots insisted should evolve from the two existing regional administrations rather than the central authority devolving powers to the two regions. Under pressure from **Turkey** to reach agreement, it has been suggested by some that Denktash only accepted the draft agreement in the expectation that Kyprianou was going to reject it.

**PYLA.** A village in the **Larnaca** district, but within the **United Nations Buffer Zone**. It is close to the **British Sovereign Base Area** of **Dhekelia**. Pyla is the only village in Cyprus that has a balanced mix of **Greek Cypriots** and **Turkish Cypriots**. The fact that Pyla continues to be populated by its original inhabitants of both Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot descent makes this village unique. Two churches and one mosque coexist in Pyla.

## – R –

**RADCLIFFE, LORD (1899–1977).** An eminent jurist, appointed constitutional commissioner for Cyprus by the **British** government on 12 July 1946. The onset of the armed campaign against colonial rule by the **National Organization of Cypriot Fighters (EOKA)** in the 1950s resulted in the British government's reassessment of the island's status within the British Empire and the development of proposals for constitutional reform. In his capacity as constitutional commissioner for Cyprus, Lord Radcliffe visited the island on two occasions to solicit the views of the people. Although Cyprus would remain under British sovereignty, the commissioner had been directed to prepare proposals that allowed for a liberal amount of self-**government** on the island. In doing so, it was hoped that the populace would gain a substantial amount of control over the

island's affairs. At the same time, safeguarding the interests of the Turkish Cypriots and **Great Britain**'s strategic requirements was of importance. The **Greek Cypriot** leader, Archbishop **Makarios III**, was in exile in the Seychelles, and Greek Cypriots demanded that he be fully included in the discussions regarding constitutional reform. Although Makarios and Radcliffe did not meet face to face, Makarios was eventually informed of the plans while in exile.

On 19 December 1956, Lord Radcliffe's proposals were published as a white paper in Great Britain and Cyprus. The main provisions of the proposal included a legislative assembly consisting of a speaker, a deputy speaker, and 36 other members, of whom six would be elected by members on a Turkish Cypriot communal roll, 24 on a general roll, and six to be nominated by the governor; a chief minister to act as head of government in self-governing matters; a minister for Turkish Cypriot affairs; and that no bill passed by the legislative assembly should become law without the approval of the governor. Upon publication of the proposals, the British government announced its acceptance of the commissioner's recommendations. The fact that the proposals allowed for greater autonomy and selfgovernment but ignored calls for self-determination or majority rule resulted in rejection by Greece and the Greek Cypriot community, although the proposals were accepted in principle by Turkey and the Turkish Cypriot community. See also BRITISH RULE.

- REAGAN, RONALD (1911–2004). President of the United States (US) from 1982 to 1990. The Reagan administration appeared to adopt a pro-Turkish policy and the amount of US aid to Turkey increased substantially. During Reagan's administration, the Turkish Cypriot leader Rauf Denktash announced the establishment of the "Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC)." Following this, the US government intensified its efforts to bring about a Cyprus solution. Reagan had promised US financial aid for the displaced people in Cyprus in the event of a solution.
- **REFERENDUM.** The **Annan Plan** was put to separate referendums on 24 April 2004. Although the **Turkish Cypriot** community voted in favor of the plan by a two to one margin (around 64 percent), it was resoundingly rejected by the **Greek Cypriot** community, as 76

percent of them voted against its adoption. In the event that both communities had voted in favor of the plan, the result would have been the creation of the "United Cyprus Republic" and the assurance that the entire island would benefit from **European Union** membership when Cyprus entered the bloc on 1 May 2004.

**REFUGEES.** Following the 1974 Turkish **invasion**, refugee camps were established to accommodate the large number of displaced **Greek Cypriots**. The number of refugees exceeded 150,000. Initially, the Social Welfare Services Department was responsible for housing, clothing, and feeding the refugees. However, it was later replaced by a new agency, the Special Service for the Care and Rehabilitation of Displaced Persons, which was established in September 1974. When it became clear that the situation would be ongoing and that the refugees would not be returning home within the foreseeable future, the agency altered its focus from emergency aid to enabling the integration of the refugees into society in the **government**-controlled areas.

Initially 23 refugee camps were able to house 20,000 displaced persons in tents, although many more remained homeless. Wooden barracks replaced the tents by the end of 1975. Low-cost housing projects were also built, and between 1975 and 1986, 12,500 families were housed in such developments in addition to many more displaced people who had been housed through self-housing schemes. Rehousing of about 80 percent of refugees (more than 43,000 families) had been accomplished by 1987.

Since April 2003 when the first **checkpoints** opened, Greek Cypriot refugees have been able to visit their homes in the northern sector. Refugees continue to protest their right to return and gain access to their property.

There have been numerous high-profile property rights cases regarding both Greek Cypriot property in the occupied north of the island and **Turkish Cypriot** property in the government-controlled south. In November 1996, the European Court of Human Rights (ECHR) ruled that **Turkey** had violated the property rights of a Cypriot citizen (Titina Loizidou) and reaffirmed the validity of property titles that had been issued prior to 1974. By another landmark decision, in September 2004 the Supreme Court of the **Republic of Cy-** **prus** ordered the return of property to a displaced Turkish Cypriot, who had lived in the south prior to 1974.

Turkish Cypriot refugees in the "**Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC)**"-controlled north were not granted any formal status. Regarding the displaced Turkish Cypriots themselves, there appears to be little information on their view of their current and future situation.

During the forced exchange of population post-1974, Turkish Cypriots moved to the north and Greek Cypriots to the south. Greek Cypriots are not permitted to reclaim property or to settle in areas under occupation, whereas Turkish Cypriots are allowed to move freely and settle in the south of the island. *See also* MISSING.

**RELIGION.** The **Republic of Cyprus Constitution** provides for religious freedom. There are two main ethnic groups on the island, **Greek Cypriots** and **Turkish Cypriots**. The Greek Cypriots are Eastern Orthodox Christians and the Turkish Cypriots believe in **Islam**. Three other religious groups are recognized by the constitution, **Armenian** Christians, **Maronite** Christians, and Latins (Roman Catholics). The Armenians belong to the Apostolic Church, which is an Eastern-rite member of the Roman Catholic Church.

Greek Cypriots are mainly in the southern **government**-controlled area, numbering around 750,000. Turkish Cypriots are located in the northern occupied area.

The **Church of Cyprus**, one of the wealthiest institutions on the island, is traditionally nationalist. The roots of the church's nationalism go back to the **Ottoman rule** and the Greek Orthodox Church's struggle for Greek **independence**. There is, therefore, a historical bond between the church in Cyprus and Greek nationalism. But the state is strictly secular.

No such correlation between religion and nationalism exists among Turkish Cypriots. In spite of the intercommunal antagonism, the **Cyprus problem** has never been viewed as a religious problem by either Cypriots or outsiders. *See also* CHURCH OF CYPRUS; ISLAM; *WAQF*.

**REPUBLIC OF CYPRUS. Great Britain's** colonial rule in Cyprus ended in 1960, and the **independent** Republic of Cyprus came into existence. The Republic has a **presidential** system of **government** and, accordingly, executive power is exercised by the president of the Republic, who is elected by universal suffrage for a five-year term of office. *See also* BRITISH RULE; CYPRUS PROBLEM; HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES; PRESIDENT.

**REPUBLICAN TURKISH PARTY (RTP)/CUMHURIYETCI** *TURK PARTISI (CTP).* The RTP, established in 1970, is the oldest of the **Turkish Cypriot** parties. Traditionally it is left-wing oriented; however, it presently espouses the market economy and caters predominantly to the white-collar constituency. The RTP is currently led by Ferdi Sabit Soyer, who took over from **Mehmet Ali Talat** following the latter's election as "president" in April 2005. Since its foundation, the RTP was an opposition party, with a short breakthrough in the mid-1990s and the period from 2003 to 2009.

Until the 1990s, the RTP was closely related to the **Greek Cypriot** left-wing **Progressive Party of the Working People** (**AKEL**), but the relationship changed after RTP gained power. The RTP also had difficulties in accepting that AKEL was a coalition partner in the government with the right-wing **Democratic Party** (**DIKO**), led by **Tassos Papadopoulos**, following the latter's election as the **President** of the **Republic of Cyprus** in February 2003.

In the 1998 elections the RTP suffered a serious loss in votes (it fell to 13.4%), which were only regained in 2002 and consequently increased in 2003 when the party contested the December 2003 elections under the umbrella of Republican Turkish Party-United Forces (RTP-BG), winning 35.2 percent of the votes and proving the largest political party. The RTP also played a leading role in the "yes" campaign on the Turkish Cypriot side in the April 2004 **referendum** on the **Annan Plan**, which led to consolidation of its position, giving it 24 out of 50 seats in the legislature (44% of the votes). The RTP's biggest fortune came in the "presidential" elections in April 2005, when the party's leader at the time, Mehmed Ali Talat, received 55 percent of the valid votes. In April 2009, however, the party suffered a setback, losing support down to 29.15 percent (15 seats).

**RICHARD THE LIONHEART (1157–1199).** Richard I was crowned King of England in 1189 and in 1190 and was also known as Rich-

ard Coeur de Lion or Richard the Lionheart due to his reputation as a formidable **military** crusader. Richard set sail for Jerusalem and the Third Crusade on 10 April 1191. When his fleet weighed anchor in Crete on 17 April 1191, 25 ships were unaccounted for after being blown off course during a storm. The following day, the fleet sailed to the island of Rhodes, where Richard learned that the storm had driven his missing ships toward Cyprus. In addition to a great deal of Richard's wealth and the Royal Seal, Berengaria of Navarre, Richard's betrothed, and his sister Joan, Queen Dowager of Sicily, were also on board the missing ships.

When Richard arrived in Cyprus on 6 May 1191, he soon discovered that a number of his ships had been wrecked on rocks while attempting to enter **Limassol** harbor. The emperor of the island, **Isaac Comnenos**, had taken the survivors prisoner, and many of the wrecks had been plundered. Fortunately, the ship carrying Berengaria and Joan had managed to put out to sea again.

Richard was greatly angered by Isaac's treatment of his fleet and demanded an apology. Defiant, Isaac insulted Richard's messengers and assembled his forces between Richard's fleet and the town. Richard's forces were far superior to the poorly trained *Griffons*, a Latin term for Greeks, and Richard's troops on 6 May 1191 easily conquered Limassol. However, Isaac managed to escape and fled to **Kolossi**.

On 11 May, Guy **Lusignan** was among the allied crusaders to land on the island, and on 12 May Richard and Berengaria were married at the Chapel of St. George in Limassol, where Berengaria was also crowned Queen of England. Berengaria's coronation is the only example, to date, of a Queen of England being crowned on foreign soil.

The crusaders pushed inland, and Isaac suffered a crushing defeat at Tremethousha on the Mesaoria plain. Guy Lusignan pursued Isaac to the Pentadactylos mountains, where he captured the fortified castles of **Kyrenia**, **St. Hilarion**, and **Buffavento**. Isaac, who had been hiding in **Kantara** castle, finally surrendered to Richard I. The first and last emperor of Cyprus was handed over to the Hospitallers, who imprisoned him in the castle of Margat, close to Tripoli, where he died in 1194.

Richard proceeded to Acre on 5 June 1191, leaving the island under the governance of Richard Camville and Robert of Turnham, whom he instructed to regularly send supplies such as barley, wheat, and wine to the crusaders. Richard soon found that the Crusade demanded all his men and more money than he possessed, and he was forced to sell Cyprus to the Knights Templar for 100,000 Bezants, of which 40,000 were to be paid immediately and the remainder in installments. In 1192, Guy Lusignan took over the island. *See also* SALE OF CYPRUS.

## **RTP.** See REPUBLICAN TURKISH PARTY.

SAINT PAUL'S ANGLICAN CATHEDRAL. St. George's Hill in Nicosia was the chosen site for the original cathedral. The foundation stone was laid by British Governor/High Commissioner Sir Robert Biddulph on 6 May 1885. The cathedral, with a maximum capacity of 100, was consecrated on 27 April 1886 by the Right Reverend C. W. Sandford, Bishop of Gibraltar, although the first service was actually held on Christmas Day 1885.

Unfortunately, by the end of 1889, the building had developed such serious structural problems that services were discontinued. It was decided that a new cathedral would have to be built. Governor/ High Commissioner Sir Henry Bulwer donated the piece of land, where the present-day cathedral stands. The new cathedral was an exact copy of its predecessor, and many of the building materials were salvaged from the old structure.

The cathedral was ready by October of the same year. Its structure resembles Victorian gothic style, and it boasts a square chancel, a nave with four bays, and a bell tower and vestry. The consecration of the new cathedral was performed by Bishop Blyth of Jerusalem on 23 April 1896.

SAINT HILARION CASTLE. St. Hilarion is one of three crusader castles, together with **Buffavento** and **Kantara**, which sit on the island's northern coastline, on the **Kyrenia Range** of mountains, in close proximity to one another. The three castles were historically used to defend the island's northern coastline from invaders. Its strategic significance was somewhat overlooked by the **Lusignan** nobility, who used it more as a summer resort. After the **Venetian** conquest of Cyprus in 1489, St. Hilarion appeared to attract little attention from the new rulers, who found no real use for it.

Saint Hilarion Castle was originally a monastery built by **Byzantines** in the 10th century. It is named after a hermit monk who, according to the legend, lived and died in one of the caves on the site. Later in the 12th century, a fort was added to the monastery, which was further upgraded by Lusignan kings. The castle is made of three wards, with the church located in the middle, royal apartments in the upper ward, and the living quarters and stables in the lower ward.

**SALAMIS.** A city-kingdom thought to have been founded toward the end of the Trojan War, circa 1184 BC, by Teucer or Tefkros, son of the king of the Greek island of Salamis and the Teucer dynasty, who went on to rule a prosperous Salamis for several centuries. No remains of the original town built by Teucer were found. Most of the remains that have come to light till now belong to the new Constantia, which replaced Salamis.

Salamis was renamed Constantia by Emperor Constantine II, who rebuilt the city following a series of disasters. An earthquake in AD 77 completely devastated the city, and during the Jewish uprising of 116 it is said that the whole non-Jewish community was massacred. Later, in 323, another earthquake hit the city, causing a vast tidal wave to hit Salamis.

The remains of the great city-kingdom include defensive walls that would have offered protection against the **Arab raids** of the seventh century. One would have enclosed the central part of the city and another would have offered some protection to the west and south of the city. A number of other ruins have been unearthed, including a Roman theater that seated 15,000 and a gymnasium.

Excavations undertaken at the necropolis of Salamis, which lies to the west of the town, revealed that burials took place on the site as far back as the Geometric period and continued until the Hellenistic period. Many tombs, particularly the royal tombs, contain a wealth of valuable grave gifts.

The city is also known for its most famous son, **St. Barnabas**, who brought **St. Paul** to the city in AD 45. Together, they preached there

## 154 • SALE OF CYPRUS

before starting their journey across the island to convert the Roman governor to Christianity.

- **SALE OF CYPRUS.** In 1191, on his way to the third crusade, **Richard the Lionheart** defeated **Isaac Comnenos** and took possession of Cyprus. His exploits left him financially strained, so Richard offered the island for sale to the Knights Templar for 100,000 bezants. Forty thousand were paid immediately and the remainder was to follow in installments. However, the Knights Templar had second thoughts and asked Richard to buy the island back. Richard I declined but persuaded Guy **Lusignan**, who had lost his kingdom in Jerusalem, to purchase it. This purchase marked the beginning of the Frankish period in Cyprus, which lasted for 297 years.
- **SALT LAKE. Larnaca** Salt Lake is a highly saline seasonal lake that is part of a network of four salt lakes. The water level of the lake never exceeds one meter, and rainfall is the lake's main source of water. The complex of lakes is located close to Larnaca International Airport and is fed from the airport lake. Water is transported to the airport lake through a drainage canal on the west of the main lake. Its salinity is controlled by the influx of fresh water, an essential aspect of the ecology of the lake. Larnaca Salt Lake is still referred to as *aliki* (Greek for salt), a reminder of its commercial importance.

The Salt Lake welcomes more than 10,000 flamingoes and colonies of other migratory birds during January and February. Once the water seeping into it evaporates, it quickly dries out. By July, it is covered by nearly 10 centimeters of glistening salt crust. The area was declared a protected area in 1997, with a land use plan adopted and the acquisition of land controlled. Hunting is prohibited in the area, and aquatic fauna are protected under the Fisheries Law and Regulations.

SAMPSON, NICOS (NICOS GEORGHIADES) (1935–2001). Nicos Sampson began his newspaper career as a correspondent for the Cyprus *Times*. He adopted *Sampson* as his nom de guerre during the National Organization of Cypriot Fighters' (EOKA) armed resistance campaign against British rule (1955–1959) and earned a reputation as one of EOKA's most feared fighters. The police became suspicious of Sampson because he was always the first reporter to arrive at murder scenes. Sampson worked as a photo-reporter at that time and published photographs of those killed. In May 1957, he was tried for the murder of a police sergeant in **Ledra Street**. Although he confessed to the crime, he was later acquitted because of suspicions that his confession had been coerced. The following month, he was sentenced to death for possession of weapons, but the sentence was subsequently commuted to life imprisonment, and he was flown to **Great Britain** to serve his term. Under an amnesty program (part of the **London-Zurich Agreements**), he was released from prison only one and a half years into his sentence but had to stay in exile in **Greece** until Cyprus gained **independence** in 1960. Upon his return to Cyprus, he received a hero's welcome in **Nicosia**.

Having resumed newspaper publishing in Cyprus, in a number of articles in 1961, Sampson exposed his role in the death of police officers in 1956 during the period of EOKA action. Following **independence**, Sampson set up the *Machi* and *Tharros* newspapers. During intercommunal clashes in 1963 Sampson, an *enosist* (he believed in union with Greece), founded and led a **Greek Cypriot** militia unit in the Omorphita area. Sampson became a member of **parliament** in 1970.

On 15 July 1974, a Greek junta-backed **coup d'état** took place in Nicosia. Archbishop **Makarios III** fled, and Sampson was installed as **president**. On 23 July 1974, upon the collapse of the **military** regime in Athens, Sampson was forced to resign. Two years later, he was found guilty of treason and sentenced to 20 years in prison. Having obtained permission to travel to France for medical treatment in 1979, he stayed there until 1990. He was released from prison in 1992 and resumed the newspaper publishing business.

Sampson denied any involvement in the 1974 coup d'etat and claimed that he had accepted the role of president to bring an end to the intercommunal conflict. Because many of those who took part in the coup remained free, Sampson's supporters asserted that he had been singled out as a scapegoat. *See also* PRESS.

SANCTUARY OF APHRODITE. The ruins of the Temple of Aphrodite are situated close to Aphrodite's Rock in Palaepaphos (Old

#### 156 • SET OF IDEAS

**Paphos**). Palaepahos was an important place of pilgrimage in the ancient Greek world until the third and fourth centuries AD. It was also an ancient city-kingdom of Cyprus. The oldest remains date back to the 12th century BC.

Festivals held at the temple attracted pilgrims from far and wide. Pilgrims would decorate themselves with garlands and, accompanied by music, would go to the temple of the goddess to offer her a coin. In return they received a phallus, which symbolized Aphrodite's role as the goddess of fertility, and a lump of salt, which symbolized Aphrodite's birth from the sea. It is also believed that the sacrifice of virginity and religious prostitution were commonplace rituals.

**SET OF IDEAS.** Proposed by then Secretary-General **Boutros-Ghali** in 1992, the Set of Ideas covered a range of issues including the overall objectives of the two parties, guiding principles, territorial adjustments, constitutional dimensions of the federation, security and guarantee issues, economic development and safeguards, displaced persons, and transitional arrangements.

The proposals were endorsed by the **United Nations** (**UN**) Security Council, which agreed that the Set of Ideas had been developed sufficiently "to enable the two sides to reach an overall agreement." In the August report (S/24472) of Secretary-General Boutros Ghali, a map of the island, which detailed potential territorial adjustments were included.

These measures, suggested and endorsed by the UN, however, failed to introduce a settlement to the **Cyprus problem**. In its resolution 789 of 1992, the UN Security Council cited the negative stand of **Turkish Cypriot** leadership as a hurdle to progress in negotiations, though the Turkish Cypriot leader, **Rauf Denktash**, did not accept the blame for the failure of the Set of Ideas.

SÈVRES, TREATY OF. The Treaty of Sèvres was signed on 10 August 1920 and abolished the Ottoman Empire. The treaty was a pact between the Allies and the Ottoman government, and under the terms of the treaty, **Turkey** was expected to renounce all rights over Arab Asia and North Africa. The pact also gave **Greece** control over the Aegean and the Dardanelles. The new Turkish nationalist regime rejected the Treaty of Sèvres, and the Treaty of Lausanne replaced it in 1923.

**SHIPPING.** Cyprus's maritime policy is attractive to shipowners and, at one point, led the island to be ranked fifth among maritime nations, with 3,000 registered ships. Since that time it has slipped to ninth place, with 1,800 ships. This is still an improvement from 32nd place in 1980.

Laws governing the island's merchant shipping are derived from the English Merchant Shipping Acts of 1894–1954, and all registration falls under the jurisdiction of the Department of Merchant Shipping of the Ministry of Communications and Works.

Any vessel can be registered in Cyprus if its majority ownership (over 50%) belongs to a citizen of Cyprus or of any other **European Union (EU)** member state. If a person is not a permanent resident of the Republic, he/she must appoint an authorized representative to act on he/she behalf. Alternatively, 100 percent of the shares of the ship can be owned by one or more corporations. Non-European shipowners wishing to register a vessel under the Cyprus **flag** can first establish a Cyprus shipping company and subsequently turn over the ownership of the vessel to the company.

Taxation is favorable, and until 31 December 2020 Cyprusregistered shipowners are not liable for any income tax from the operation of the ship or from the dividends paid out to shareholders or other legal beneficiaries. Any fishing enterprise based in Cyprus is exempt from this rule.

SIMITIS, COSTAS (1936–). Prime minister of Greece, and the leader of the Panhellenic Social Movement (PASOK), from January 1996 to March 2004. Simitis was cautious on issues concerning Turkey. This stance was largely due to the Imia crisis, a conflict between Greece and Turkey over Imia, an uninhabited islet in the Aegean. As a result, Simitis tended to distance himself from the Cyprus problem; he did not become personally involved and allowed others to deal with the issue. Theodoros Pangalos and George Papandreou (the junior), his two successive foreign ministers, were appointed to deal with issues regarding Cyprus.

#### 158 • SOVEREIGN BASE AREAS

# **SOVEREIGN BASE AREAS.** *See* BRITISH SOVEREIGN BASE AREAS.

STAVROVOUNI. Stavrovouni, meaning Mountain of the Cross, is situated approximately halfway between Nicosia and Limassol and is the earliest documented monastery on the island. The monks live strict monastic lives, similar to that of Mount Athos in Greece. The monastery is believed to have been founded by St. Helena, the mother of Constantine the Great, in approximately 325 AD. According to folklore, St. Helena was forced to land in Cyprus on her journey back to Constantinople from Jerusalem. As she was resting, an angel came to her in a dream and instructed her to build churches on the island and to leave fragments of the True Cross in those churches. When she awoke, a servant pointed out a strange gleam of light on the opposite hillside. When St. Helena realized that the True Cross was missing she began to suspect that the gleam was coming from her cross, which the angel she saw in her dream had taken. She followed the light but had to order her servants to set fire to the hillside to burn out the snakes. It is said that she found the cross on the top of the mountain and was convinced that it was God's will that she build a monastery at the spot.

## – T –

- *TAKSIM*. In the late 1950s, the idea of *taksim* or partition emerged among **Turkish Cypriots** as a counterbalance to the **Greek Cypriot** calls for *enosis* or union with **Greece**. Advocates of *taksim* believed that the Turkish Cypriots would be persecuted if *enosis* were to be realized. They reasoned that by retaining part of the island under Turkish sovereignty, the rights and safety of Turkish Cypriots would be guaranteed. *See also* NATIONAL ORGANIZATION OF CY-PRIOT FIGHTERS (EOKA); TURKEY; TURKISH RESISTANCE ORGANIZATION (TMT).
- TALAT, MEHMET ALI (1952–). "President" of the "Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC)." Born in Kyrenia in 1952, Mehmet Ali Talat studied electrical engineering in Ankara. While

studying Talat was involved in **Turkish Cypriot** student organizations. He returned to Cyprus in 1977 and entered politics. He was instrumental in establishing the Turkish Cypriot trade unions and the Turkish Cypriot Students' Youth Federation (KOGEF). He later assumed several roles in the **Republican Turkish Party (RTP)** before becoming its leader in 1996.

Talat entered the first **Democratic Party-Republican Turkish Party (DP-RTP)** coalition "government" in December 1993, assuming the post of "minister" of education (*see* "COUNCIL OF MINISTERS," TURKISH-ADMINISTERED AREA), subsequently being reelected as a member of the legislative "assembly" under the second and the third DP-RTP coalitions and holding a number of "ministerial" positions. Claiming victory in the 2004 general elections, Talat served as "prime minister" in the DP-RTP coalition "government" before being elected as the "president" of the "TRNC" in April 2005, succeeding **Rauf Denktash**. In the 2004 **referendum** Talat's campaign among Turkish Cypriots to accept the **Annan Plan** for reunification of the island was successful.

- THANT, U (1909–1974). Third United Nations secretary-general, elected in 1962. The United Nations Peacekeeping force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) was established during his term as secretary-general.
- THATCHER, MARGARET (1925–). Prime minister of Great Britain from 1976 to 1990. During the Thatcher era, with the exception of 1983, the period from 1980 to 1986 can be best described as one of inactivity. The Cyprus problem was not even referred to in the parliamentary program. British policy, during this time, consisted mainly of support for the United Nations secretary-general's efforts to unite Cyprus. In 1983, Margaret Thatcher stated that she wished "Cyprus to continue in a state of unity as it did nine years ago before it was rudely upset." The government responded decisively to the Turkish Cypriot Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI), requesting an urgent meeting of the Security Council and submitting a draft resolution (Resolution 541/1983) condemning the UDI and demanding its immediate withdrawal. Following the resolution, the British government proposed a tripartite conference in London between the guarantor powers, Greece, Turkey, and Great Britain,

#### 160 • TOMBS OF THE KINGS

but the proposal was rejected by the Greek government. This proposal for the tripartite conference was Britain's last active engagement in peacemaking efforts in Cyprus in the period 1980–1986.

- **TOMBS OF THE KINGS.** The tombs date back to the third century BC, and although not a royal burial place, it is believed that eminent Ptolemies and the ruling elite were buried there. The Tombs of the Kings lie to the northwest of the old section of **Paphos**. Hundreds of subterranean, rock-hewn tombs have been found at the site. The tombs are reached by steps and have open peristyle courts surrounded by burial chambers. Some of the burial chambers are well preserved, but others have been completely destroyed. The staircases leading to some tombs are very narrow. *See also* ARCHEOLOGY.
- **TOURISM.** After 1960, tourism became of increasing importance to Cyprus's economy. Since the events of 1974, the tourist trade has thrived in the Greek Cypriot sector (*see* COUP D'ETAT; INVA-SION). To counter the loss of Kyrenia and the Famagusta-Varosha area, which had been the leading seaside resorts pre-1974, the southern coastal towns of Limassol, Larnaca, Paphos, and the area of Ayia Napa were developed to accommodate tourists.

Beginning in the mid-1980s, tourism was the largest source of foreign income for the **Republic of Cyprus**-controlled south. In 2007, tourism accounted for about 110,000 jobs, tantamount to 27.4 percent of total employment, or 1 in every 3.6 jobs. It contributed 9.8 percent to the gross domestic product, and its capital investment was estimated at 19.3 percent of total investment.

Cyprus has been a full member of the **United Nations** World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) since 1975. The Cyprus Tourism Organization (CTO) is responsible for promoting Cyprus overseas. The CTO's three main target markets for advertising are **Great Britain**, Germany, and Russia, and though traditionally the tourist industry was developed to serve predominantly British tourists, it also attracts visitors from Finland, Germany, **Greece**, Ireland, Russia, Sweden, and the Middle East. More than half of all the island's tourists are from Great Britain, and they appear to be the island's biggest holiday spenders. The most popular tourist destinations are Paphos and Ayia Napa, although the seaside resorts of Limassol and Larnaca, as well as **Nicosia**, **Protaras**, **Platres**, and **Polis**, **Chrysochous**, are also popular.

### TRADE. See ECONOMY.

TRANSPORT. Post-1974, the program of road development changed, and new priorities emerged to cover increasing needs in the government-controlled areas. New road development schemes were promoted, partially financed by foreign financing organizations facilitating the construction of new four-lane highways between Nicosia-Limassol, Nicosia-Larnaca, Larnaca-Kofinou, Nicosia-Anthoupolis-Kokkinotrimithia, Larnaca Bypass, Limassol-Paphos, and Dhekeleia-Protaras. Simultaneously, many main rural and urban roads were upgraded. The highway network on the island is developing continuously. According to 2002 statistics, the road network in the Republic of Cyprus consists of about 7,206 kilometers of paved and 4,387 kilometers of unpaved roads.

All motor vehicles must be properly licensed by the Registrar of Motor Vehicles, and foreign drivers must be able to present either a valid international driving license or a valid driving license of their country.

After the events of 1974, Nicosia airport was closed and has remained so until the present day. Larnaca airport was built in February 1975, and Paphos airport opened in 1983. Both Larnaca and Paphos international airports will soon undergo major redevelopment through the Build Operate Transfer (BOT) method.

In the northern section, two highways run between Nicosia and **Kyrenia** and Nicosia and **Famagusta**. And a highway between Nicosia and **Morphou** is under construction. *See also* ERCAN IN-TERNATIONAL AIRPORT.

**TROODOS MOUNTAINS.** The largest mountain range in Cyprus, located in the central area of the island. Rising 1,952 meters above sea level, it is peaked at Mount Olympus. Tree species include pine, cypress, dwarf oak, and cedar. The peaks are usually covered with snowfall from December to March. Copper **mining** has been

practiced since Roman times although other compounds are also extracted.

Mountainous peaks and many mountain resorts make Troodos a popular destination for winter sports. Troodos is also home to many UNESCO World Heritage Sites, among which are nine churches and a number of Byzantine monasteries, including the most famous and the richest in Cyprus, the **Kykkos monastery**. The nine Byzantine churches are Archangel Michael at Pedhoulas, Assinou, Ayios loannis Lampadistis, Ayios Nikolaos tis Stegis, Panayia Podithou, Panayia tou Araka, Panayia tou Moutoula, Stavros tou Ayiasmati, and Timiou Stavrou at Pelendri.

TURKEY. Turkey's interest in Cyprus goes back centuries, when the Ottomans first defeated the Venetians in 1571 and conquered the island. In 1878, they ceded the administration of the island to Great Britain in return for the latter's help should Russia attack the Ottomans. Following the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire after World War I, Britain annexed Cyprus and declared it a Crown colony in 1925. In 1955, invited by Britain to a tripartite conference in London over the Cyprus issue, Turkey registered its interest in the island and its future should the British decide to cede sovereignty over Cyprus. The agreements of 1959, which granted independence to Cyprus, based on a bicommunal republic and precluding *enosis* (union with Greece), were the result of Turkey's involvement. The counter-claim of some Turkish Cypriots for *taksim* (partition) was also excluded from the agreements.

Following the outbreak of hostilities in December 1963, Turkey was intent on **military** intervention against Cyprus but was deterred only by a strong letter from **United States (US)** President **Lyndon Johnson**. In the 1967 crisis on the island, Turkey forced the removal of about 10,000 Greek troops stationed in Cyprus but not accounted for by the Treaty of **Alliance**. After the Greek-backed **coup d'état** of 1974 against **President Makarios** on 15 July, Turkey sent in its troops on 20 July, followed by another phase of military **invasion** on 15 August. The two communities have been physically separated ever since, and 30,000 Turkish troops remain stationed in the north of the island.

Turkey's policy on Cyprus has been based on three principles. First, Cyprus is viewed by the military leadership in Ankara as the soft underbelly of Turkey, that is, it can be used to launch an attack on the Turkish mainland with relative ease. Second, the safety and well-being of Turkish Cypriots are regarded as important, for many of them look to Ankara as their mother country and expect support and loyalty. Third, Cyprus is used by Turkey as a useful bargaining chip in its negotiations over full membership in the **European Union**. Also, during the Cold War, Turkey exploited the East–West rivalry to ensure that the US would not stand in its way over Cyprus in 1974 as it had in 1964. *See also* CONSTITUTION; CYPRUS PROBLEM; FOREIGN POLICY; MILITARY.

TURKISH CYPRIOTS. The smaller community in Cyprus, numbering around 200,000 (18% of the population). They speak Turkish and practice the Sunni sect of Islam, though religion plays no significant role in their administration. They look up to Turkey for security and identify, to a degree, with Turkish history and culture. During the pro-enosis (union with Greece) struggles of Greek Cypriots (the larger community) in the 1950s, the Turkish Cypriot leadership and Turkey advanced the idea of taksim (partition of the island between Greece and Turkey). The London-Zurich Agreements of 1959 provided for their participation in the government of the Republic of Cyprus, including the post of vice president, which was filled by Fazil Kuchuk.

As the result of the 1963 intercommunal violence, Turkish Cypriots, by and large, withdrew from the government and after the Greekstaged **coup d'état** and the Turkish **invasion** of the island in 1974, the Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots were forcibly moved to the north and the south of the island, respectively. The Turkish Cypriot leadership's **Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI)** in 1983 led to the establishment of the **"Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC)."** Both the UDI and the "TRNC" have been condemned by the **United Nations** and the latter is only recognized by Turkey.

Turkish Cypriot politics was for decades dominated by **Rauf Denktash**, who has now been replaced by **Mehmet Ali Talat** as "**president.**" Around 64 percent of Turkish Cypriots voted in favor of the UN **Annan Plan** in the 2004 **referendum**. *See also* OTTO-MAN RULE; TURKISH RESISTANCE ORGANIZATION.

"TURKISH FEDERATED STATE OF CYPRUS (TFSC)." On 13 February 1975, Turkish Cypriot leaders declared the establishment of the "Turkish Federated State of Cyprus (TFSC)" that encompassed the northern sector of the island. Turkey supported the move and Greece denounced it. Following the declaration, further intercommunal talks were initiated in the 1970s and 1980s but to no avail. On 15 November 1983, a Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) was issued by the "TFSC," and from that point the "TFSC" became the "Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC)." See also COUP D'ETAT; INVASION.

"TURKISH REPUBLIC OF NORTHERN CYPRUS (TRNC)." On 15 November 1985, the Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) was issued by the Turkish Cypriot Leadership. By this declaration, the "Turkish Federated State of Cyprus (TFSC)" was replaced by the "Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC)."

The United Nations (UN) Security Council in Resolution 541 of 18 November 1983 categorically rejected the UDI, stating that it considered the declaration legally invalid. The Council went on to call for the withdrawal of the UDI and urged all states to withhold recognition of any Cypriot state except the **Republic of Cyprus**.

**President Kyprianou** issued a statement on the day of the UDI. He stated that the UDI violated the sovereignty, **independence**, and territorial integrity of Cyprus and was also against the UN Charter, the Helsinki Final Act, and international law. On 16 March 1984, UN Secretary-General **Perez de Cuellar** met **Rauf Denktash** in New York. During their discussions, the secretary-general asked Denktash to halt the consolidation of the "TRNC" and to stop seeking recognition for it.

On 7 August 1984, the Vienna Working Points asked for an immediate end to any further internationalization of the **Cyprus problem** by the **Greek Cypriots** and a simultaneous stop to Turkish

Cypriots seeking recognition for the "TRNC." On 12 March 1985, the constitution of the Turkish Cypriots was put to a referendum, and subsequently, on 23 June 1985, "parliamentary" elections were held in the "TRNC."

TURKISH RESISTANCE ORGANIZATION/Türk Mukavemet Teşkilatı (TMT). A paramilitary organization formed to oppose the National Organization of Cypriot Fighters (EOKA). Turkey sent Riza Vukushan, a Turkish army officer, to Cyprus to organize the TMT, and it is also thought by some that **Rauf Denktash** was instrumental in its formation. The aim of the organization was *taksim* or partition of the island. The TMT's slogan was *ya taksim ya olum*, which means *partition or death*. The TMT was proscribed in July 1958 although the organization survived well beyond the creation of the **Republic of Cyprus**.

#### -U-

UNILATERAL DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE (UDI). On 15 November 1983, the **Turkish Cypriot** leadership headed by **Rauf Denktash** unilaterally declared the **independence** of the part of Cyprus that has been under Turkish occupation since 1974. The **United Nations** Security Council has condemned the move, describing it as illegal and calling for its withdrawal in Resolution 541 (1983).

The permanent members of the Security Council, the EEC, the Council of Europe, the Non-Aligned Movement, and the Commonwealth all made similar statements. In its statement on 18 November 1983, the **United States** "condemned this unilateral action by the Turkish Cypriots" and stated that "[t]here is only one legal **government** of Cyprus." Similarly, **Great Britain**, in its statement on 15 November 1983, "deplored that action" and made it distinctly clear that the "the British government recognize[s] only one Cypriot state."

UNITED DEMOCRATS (EDI)/ENOMENOI DIMOKRATES (EDI)/ENΩMENOI ΔΗΜΟΚΡΑΤΕΣ (ΕΔΗ). A Greek Cypriot political party founded by George Vassiliou in 1993 as the Movement of Free Democrats. The party later joined forces with ADISOK and became the United Democrats, a liberal party. In the 2001 parliamentary elections, the party won 2.6 percent and one out of 56 seats. In the 2006 elections, the party received 1.6 percent of the vote and lost **parliamentary** representation. In 2005, George Vassiliou stepped down as the party's **president** and Michalis Papapetrou succeeded him.

**UNITED NATIONS (UN).** The organization was first involved with the Cyprus question in the 1950s when **Greece** brought the issue before the UN General Assembly as a case of self-determination. Pressured by the **United States (US)** and **Great Britain** to desist from further internationalization of the issue, Greece agreed to pursue negotiations.

In its postindependence phase, eruption of intercommunal violence in December 1963 attracted the attention of the UN to Cyprus. Eager to prevent an escalation of the conflict into a wider Greco-Turkish war, the US, together with other major powers, agreed in 1964 to dispatch a peacekeeping mission to the island named the United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP). The mandate came in the form of a resolution by the Security Council that also called for the appointment of a mediator in the dispute. The mediator's report, however, was rejected by Turkey and the Turkish Cypriots in 1965, and ever since no UN mediator for the Cyprus problem has been appointed. Instead, the Security Council has asked the parties to conduct intercommunal negotiations and avail themselves of the good offices of the UN secretary-general.

The UNFICYP's mandate is now renewed every six months. The **government** of Cyprus contributes to the expenses of the force, which has been regarded as one of the more successful cases of UN traditional peacekeeping. During times of particular tension, like 1967 or 1974, the UN force, unauthorized to use force except in self-defense, was faced with difficult and life-threatening situations. Some 40 casualties were taken by the UN in 1974, some of which proved fatal. Despite the threats, the UN force has continued its work and in 1996 managed to contain another fatal and potentially explosive incident in **Dherynia** on the island. However, some have argued that the success of the force in preventing a recurrence of the

fighting in general has provided a false sense of security by removing the urgency of the need for a settlement and replacing it with complacency. But the overwhelming superiority of Turkish **military** forces on the island would most certainly weaken the position of the **Greek Cypriots** in negotiations were UNFICYP to leave Cyprus.

Almost all peacemaking efforts in Cyprus have taken place with the direct or indirect input of the UN. From the **intercommunal** negotiations of 1968–1974 up to the recent agreements in 2007, a great many initiatives have been launched and pursued but to no avail. Two **High-Level Agreements** between the two community leaders, in 1977 and 1979, but unimplemented to this day, were also reached under UN auspices. Two of the more recent efforts are the **Set of Ideas** and the **Annan Plan**, proposed respectively by former UN Secretaries-General **Boutros-Ghali** in 1992 and **Kofi Annan** in 2004. They also failed to bridge the gap between the belligerent sides.

The UN has strongly rejected the Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) of 1983 by the Turkish Cypriots and recognizes only the **Republic of Cyprus** as the representative of the state. There is normally a resident special representative of the UN secretarygeneral in Cyprus who is in overall command of all UN personnel on the island. *See also* FOREIGN POLICY; UNITED NATIONS BUFFER ZONE; UNITED NATIONS PEACEKEEPING FORCE IN CYPRUS.

**UNITED NATIONS BUFFER ZONE.** The buffer zone is a 180kilometer stretch of land (approximately 3% of the island) under the control of the **United Nations (UN)**. Five inhabited villages are located within the buffer zone boundaries. The width of the buffer zone varies between a few meters in Nicosia to seven kilometers near the village of Athienou in **Larnaca** district. About 8,000 people live and work in five villages located in the buffer zone. The UN maintains 152 observation and surveillance posts in and around the buffer zone. Additionally, the **military** regularly runs patrols by air, vehicle, on foot, and in central Nicosia, on bicycles. *See also* GREEN LINE.

### UNITED NATIONS PEACEKEEPING FORCE IN CYPRUS (UNFICYP). The United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus

(UNFICYP) was established in March 1964. The duration of its mandate in Cyprus makes this operation currently the fourth-oldest UN peacekeeping operation in the world. On 4 March 1964, the Security Council adopted Resolution 186 (1964) authorizing the dispatch of a UN peacekeeping force to the island. The UNFICYP's original mandate was for three months, but due to successive extensions the force continues to operate on the island. The UNFICYP is responsible for maintaining peace and stability in the UN **Buffer Zone**.

By 8 June 1964, the force numbered 6,411, with **military** contingents from Austria, Canada, Denmark, Finland, **Great Britain**, Ireland, and Sweden and civilian police units from Australia, Austria, Denmark, New Zealand, and Sweden. As of 30 April 2007, the force totaled 917 uniformed personnel, including 852 troops and 65 police, supported by 37 international civilian personnel and 105 local civilian staff. Contributors of military personnel include Argentina, Austria, Canada, Croatia, Hungary, Great Britain, and Slovakia. Contributing to the police force are Argentina, Australia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, El Salvador, India, Ireland, Italy, and Netherlands.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA (US). The United States foreign policy on Cyprus up to 1990 emanated from its policy of containment during the Cold War. Since the 1950s, when Greece formally brought the Cyprus issue before the United Nations General Assembly, Washington's prime concern was to prevent any infiltration of Soviet influence into an area that was considered to be within the Western camp. The existence of the Progressive Party of the Working People (AKEL), a left-wing party (though more in name than in practice) on the island and its considerable following among Greek Cypriots worried American policymakers. Furthermore, in its postindependence phase, the Cyprus problem, appeared to risk a war between Greece and **Turkey**, thereby threatening to disrupt the cohesion of the southeastern flank of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), a scenario that Washington was strongly against. The strong letter of President Lyndon Johnson in 1963 and the shuttle diplomacy of Cyrus Vance in 1967 were both undertaken to avert a Greco-Turkish conflict over Cyprus.

**Makarios** was himself viewed as the "red priest" or "Castro of the Mediterranean" in some circles in Washington. His flirtation with AKEL and Cyprus's membership of the Non-Aligned Movement had rendered him less than an ideal friend of the West. Based on this, the US decided to lean more toward Turkey and the **Turkish Cypriots** on Cyprus. It is strongly believed that the Turkish **invasion** of Cyprus in 1974 had the tacit, if not express, support of Washington. By allowing a separate administration for Turkish Cypriots supported by huge numbers of Turkish troops, it was thought, the US could safeguard the island against further influence of communism. *See also* FOREIGN POLICY.

### – V –

- VAROSHA. Modern tourist quarter of Famagusta in northern Cyprus. However, Varosha has been a ghost town ever since the 1974 Turkish invasion of the island, when it was fenced off. As the area has been deserted for 34 years, any resettlement would probably require major reconstruction of the city. The Annan Plan, proposed by the United Nations (UN) in 2004, like many previous plans before it had provided for the return of Varosha to Greek Cypriots, and it is expected that any future settlement would include the return of the area to the larger Greek Cypriot community. Currently, the area is open only to the Turkish military and UN personnel, but the Turkish Cypriot administration has expressed plans to resume tourism activities in Varosha by 2010. See also FAMAGUSTA.
- VASSILIOU, GEORGE (1931–). President of the Republic of Cyprus from 1998 to 2003. George Vassiliou was born in Famagusta. His father, a member of the Progressive Party the Working People (AKEL), fought in the Greek civil war on the side of the communists. Following the war, Vassiliou's family settled in Eastern Europe and Vassiliou attended university in Hungary for a time before continuing his studies in London after the Soviet invasion of Hungary in 1958.

Supported by AKEL, Vassiliou defeated **Spyros Kyprianou** in the 1988 presidential elections. He served one term and was succeeded by **Glafkos Clerides** in 1993.

#### 170 • VENETIAN RULE

After leaving office, Vassiliou founded the Movement of Free Democrats and was elected president of the party. The party won two seats (out of 56) in the **parliamentary elections** of 1996. Later that year, the Movement of Free Democrats merged with the Socialist Democratic Renewal Movement (ADISOK) to form the **United Democrats**. Vassiliou was elected president of the United Democrats and held the post until 2005.

During accession talks with the **European Union** from 1998 to 2003, Vassiliou was Cyprus's chief negotiator. In the 2004 **referendum**, he was a staunch supporter of the **Annan Plan**.

VENETIAN RULE (1489–1571). During Venetian rule, the island was divided into 11 districts (Banff, Avdimou, Limassol, Mazoto, Saline, Viscontado, Mesaoria, Karpasso, Kyrenia, Pentagia, and Khrysokhou). The districts were governed either by captains or *civitains*. Nicosia and Famagusta were placed under Cypriot viscounts (sheriffs), as in the time of the Lusignans. The Venetians fortified Nicosia and Famagusta (*see* VENETIAN WALLS). Their rule ended when the Ottomans landed in Larnaca in 1570. Forces led by Lala Mustafa Pasha soon laid siege to Nicosia, which was taken after six weeks. Famagusta was harder to defeat. The Ottoman siege of Famagusta lasted 10 months until the Ottomans finally emerged victorious.

**VENETIAN WALLS.** The Venetian Walls in **Nicosia** were built in 1567 to fortify the city against the **Ottomans**. The walls took three years to build and the **Venetian** architects Savorgnano and Barbaro designed them. Surrounded by a moat, only the lower sections of the soil-constructed walls were faced with stone. The walls had 11 ramparts/bastions and three gates (**Famagusta**, **Kyrenia**, and **Paphos**). The three gates, in the north, south, and east, were the only entrances to the city.

Each of the 11 bastions bears the name of one of the Venetian families who funded the construction of the walls (d'Avila, Tripoli, Roccas, Mula, Quirini, Barbaro, Loredano, Flatro, Garaffa, Podocatoro, and Costanza). Not long after their completion, in 1570, Nicosia fell into the hands of the Ottomans. Of the 11 bastions, five are now located in the **Republic of Cyprus**-governed south, five are located

in the occupied area, and the 11th bastion, Flatro, is controlled by the **United Nations**.

The Department of Antiquities undertook restoration of have been preserved, new openings have been created to allow for increased traffic, and sections of the dry moat are used for car parking, public gardens, and recreation. *See also* OMERIYE MOSQUE.

### – W –

- WALDHEIM, KURT (1918–2007). An Austrian diplomat and statesman, Kurt Waldheim was appointed as the fourth United Nations secretary-general in 1972. He held the post until 1981. Waldheim visited the island several times in his capacity as secretary-general. His visits gave him the opportunity to inspect the United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) and enter into discussions with community leaders. Waldheim's third visit to the island was in August 1974, in the wake of the Greek junta-led coup d'état and the Turkish invasion. He arranged for talks to begin between Acting President Glafkos Clerides and the Turkish Cypriot leader Rauf Denktash. He also attended the Makarios-Denktash summit in February 1977. See also GOBBI INITIATIVE.
- **WAQF.** An **Islamic** tradition whereby properties are donated for religious and charitable purposes only. Since the **Ottoman** occupation of Cyprus in 1571, this practice has led to an accumulation of assets overseen by religious authorities. No authority has the right to sell property designated as *waqf*. Such properties can be rented for 10 years, and a longer period requires the approval of a legislative body.

A board of directors, which is appointed every three years, controls revenues from *waqf* properties. The board decides where to invest and how properties should be used. All commercial and financial dealings under the *Evkaf* (plural of *waqf*) Office operate independently from the spiritual aspect of the **religion**, and the chief mufti is not responsible for the administration of *evkaf*. The chief mufti and imams are prohibited from becoming board members although they are paid by the **Turkish Cypriot** authorities out of *evkaf* funds.

#### 172 • WILSON, HAROLD

Many properties are designated as *waqf* in the "**Turkish Republic** of Northern Cyprus (TRNC)"-controlled north. Such properties include the Dome Hotel and certain colleges and universities.

- WILSON, HAROLD (1916–1995). Labor prime minister of Great Britain from 1964 to 1970 and from 1974 to 1976. During his tenure, many far-reaching domestic economic and social initiatives were implemented while Britain was facing recession. The beginning of Wilson's third term in 1974 witnessed the **coup d'état** and the Turkish **invasion** of Cyprus. By mobilizing a potent naval task force to the area, led by an assault carrier and a destroyer, Wilson had taken emergency measures against an invasion threat within a day of the coup; however, hopes for joint action with the **United States** proved unrealistic at the time.
- WINSTER, LORD (1885–1961). Governor of Cyprus from 1946 to 1949. In 1947, the British administration announced the intention to create a more liberal regime on the island. With this in mind, Lord Winster issued invitations to various individuals and organizations to attend a consultative assembly, known in Greek as *diaskeptiki*. The purpose of the assembly was to elicit recommendations from the participants regarding the form of the Cyprus constitution. The first meeting of the assembly took place on 1 November 1947. The Church-dominated right declined Lord Winster's invitation because they believed that acceptance of the constitution would imply a renunciation of their goal for *enosis* (union with Greece). During the meeting, delegates from both the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities rejected the proposal for self-government. *See also* BRITISH RULE.
- WOLSELEY, SIR GARNET JOSEPH (1833–1913). First British governor/high commissioner. He arrived on the island on 22 July 1878, and his arrival marked the beginning of 82 years of British rule in Cyprus. Colonel Sir Robert Biddulph succeeded Wolseley in 1879. In 1885, Wolseley was made 1st Viscount. *See also* BRITISH LANDING.
- WOMEN. Since 1979, all National Development Plans attempted to improve the role of women in the economy and society and also

end discrimination against women. Furthermore, the accession of the **Republic of Cyprus** to the **European Union (EU)** in 2006 has resulted in the acceleration of legislative and legal reforms on issues of gender equality. There have also been some important steps taken by the **government** in Cyprus in that direction, such as setting up the infrastructure for childcare facilities, offering training programs, and enhancing organizational schemes to advance women's participation and status in the economic field and in society as a whole.

Despite reforms, statistical evidence indicates that, although gender policies are in place, they are not adequately publicized nor is there sufficient information and training provided to those concerned, including employers and policymakers, to effectively implement the policies.

Unequal gender representation is most strikingly apparent in the absence of major female figures in the leading and decision-making roles in political life, the legislature, and the legal profession as well as in the economy and mass media. Traditional social prejudices and attitudes still exist and act as major obstacles to the advancement of women. By focusing on women in terms of their physical beauty, sexual attractiveness, and motherhood, the media still largely portray women in ways that tend to inhibit their progress in economic and social fields.

Advances have been made in generating greater awareness of the problem of violence against women and the need to prevent and eradicate it. Even so, the initial steps taken have been mostly limited to family violence, while rape, sexual harassment, and trafficking of women have not received adequate attention. In spite of some greater focus on the latter of late, there is still, however, no suitable infrastructure and resources to deal with the victims of violence. Current shelter facilities depend on a single nongovernmental organization subject to limited space and other resources.

WORLD WAR I (1914–1919). When war broke out in August 1914, martial law was declared in Cyprus. This action was required to control the price of necessities and the export of certain commodities. The island supplied the Allies with foodstuffs and other commodities such as mules, donkeys, and timber. Between 1914 and 1919, Cyprus experienced such demand for its local produce that those involved in cultivation were able to invest the money earned during the war and many prospered.

Allied patrol vessels used **Famagusta** harbor as a base, and the port was in a constant state of activity transporting the goods purchased by the Allied forces. The Allies established a camp for Turkish prisoners of war (POW) in Famagusta.

**WORLD WAR II** (1939–1945). In September 1939, the **British** government decided to create a Cyprus Regiment. The regiment was officially formed on 12 April 1940. Until that point, Cypriot applications to join the British armed forces had been refused. There was great demand for muleteers, and two Pack Transport Companies were formed from 700 newly enlisted recruits. The Cyprus muleteers could cover territory impassable by other vehicles and were among the first colonial troops to be sent to the western front.

Until December 1944, Cyprus Regiment troop numbers were as follows:

- 8,856 enlisted in Cyprus Regiment (CR)
- 1,773 enlisted in Cyprus Volunteer Force (CVF)
- 20,000 employed in defense work in Cyprus
- 4,500 employed in civil defense services on a compulsory, parttime, unpaid basis

### – Z –

**ZENO (ca. 335–ca. 263 BC).** Zeno was born in Citium, a **Phoenician** city in Cyprus that was located on the southeast coast close to present-day **Larnaca**. He was the founder of the Stoic School of Philosophy, which influenced the development of philosophical thought in Hellenistic and Roman times. Stoicism took its name from the *Stoa Poikile*, the painted colonnade, where Zeno lectured. Stoicism included logic, ethics, and physics. The stoics believed that we should accept our destiny unquestionably, and stoicism was linked with patience and long-suffering and an acceptance of fate.

Zeno was of Phoenician ancestry and for most of his youth was a merchant. Around 313 BC, Zeno was shipwrecked in Piraeus and subsequently settled in Athens. Before beginning to teach his own tenets around 300, Zeno studied the doctrines of various schools of philosophy, attending lectures of many philosophers, including the cynic philosopher Crates of Thebes, who reportedly had great influence on him.

All that is known of Zeno is garnered from quotations and anecdotes found in the works of his followers and critics. None of Zeno's works have been found.

ZURICH AGREEMENT. See LONDON-ZURICH AGREEMENTS.

# Appendix A Presidents of the Republic of Cyprus

### 1960–PRESENT

1960–1974	Archbishop Makarios III
1974	Nicos Sampson*
1974	Glafkos Clerides (Acting)
1974–1977	Archbishop Makarios III
1977–1988	Spyros Kyprianou
1988–1993	George Vassiliou
1993-2003	Glafkos Clerides
2003-2008	Tassos Papadopoulos
2008	<b>Dimitris Christofias</b>

\* installed by the Greek military junta following the 1974 coup d'etat. Emboldened words indicate separate corresponding entries in the Dictionary.

# Appendix B Turkish Cypriot Leaders

### 1960–PRESENT

1960–1973	Dr. Fazil Kuchuk, Vice President of Republic
	of Cyprus
1973–1974	Rauf Denktash, Vice President of Republic of
	Cyprus
1974-2005	Rauf Denktash, Leader of the Turkish Cypriot
	Community
2005-Present	Mehmet Ali Talat, Leader of the Turkish
	Cypriot Community

Emboldened words indicate separate corresponding entries in the Dictionary.

## Appendix C Special Representatives of UN Secretaries-General to Cyprus

1964–1965	Galo Plaza Lasso (appointed as mediator in
	September) (Ecuador)
1965–1967	Carlos A. Bernardes (Brazil)
1967–1967	P. P. Spinelli (Acting) (Italy)
1967–1974	Bibiano Fernández Osorio-Tafall (Spain)
1974–1975	Luis Weckmann-Muñoz (Mexico)
1975–1977	Javier Pérez de Cuellar (Peru)
1977–1978	Remy Gorge (Acting)
1978-1980	Reynaldo Galindo Pohl (El Salvador)
1980–1984	Hugo J. Gobbi (Argentina)
1984–1988	James Holger (Acting) (Chile)
1988-1993	Oscar Camilion (Argentina)
1993–1996	Joe Clark (on a nonresident basis)
1996–1997	Han Sung-Joo (Republic of Korea)
1997–1999	Diego Cordovez (Equador) (on a nonresident basis)
1999–1999	Dame Ann Hercus (New Zealand)
1999–2000	James Holger (Chile) (Acting)
2000-2004	Alvaro de Soto (Peru) (Special Advisor)*
2005-2006	Zbigniew Wlosowicz (Poland)
2006-2008	Michael Møller (Denmark)
2008-	Alexander Downer (Australia)

\*Peruvian diplomat Alvaro de Soto was the secretary-general's special advisor on Cyprus during the talks leading up to the referenda on the **Annan Plan** in 2004.

Emboldened words indicate separate corresponding entries in the Dictionary.

# Appendix D UNFICYP Force Commanders

Mar. 1964–Jun. 1964	General Gyani (India)
Jun. 1964–Dec. 1965	General K. S. Thimayya (India, died in
	Cyprus)
Dec. 1965–May 1966	Brigadier A. J. Wilson (United Kingdom,
	Acting)
May 1966–Dec. 1969	Lieutenant-General I. A. E. Martola (Finland)
Dec. 1969–Dec. 1976	Lieutenant-General Dewan Prem Chand
	(India)
Dec. 1976–Mar. 1981	Major-General J. J. Quinn (Ireland)
Mar. 1981–Apr. 1988	Major-General Gunther G. Greindl (Austria)
Apr. 1988–Apr. 1992	Major-General Clive Milner (Canada)
Apr. 1992-Aug. 1994	Major-General Michael F. Minehane (Ireland)
Aug. 1994–Feb. 1997	Brigadier-General Ahti Toimi (Finland)
Feb. 1997–Dec. 1999	Major-General E. A. de Vergara (Argentina)
Dec. 1999–Dec. 2001	Major-General Victory Rana (Nepal)
Jan. 2002–Dec. 2003	Lieutenant-General Jin Ha Hwang (Republic
	of Korea)
Jan. 2004–Jan. 2006	Major-General Hebert Figoli (Uruguay)
Mar. 2006–	Major-General Rafael José Barni (Argentina)

# Appendix E The Lusignan Rulers of Cyprus

Guy de Lusignan (Lord of the Island)	1192–1194
Aimery (Lord of Cyprus in 1194 and King in 1197)	1194–1205
Hugh I	1205-1218
Henry I	1218-1253
Hugh II	1253-1267
Hugh III	1267-1284
John I	1284-1285
Henry II	1285–1324
Hugh IV	1324–1359
Peter I	1359–1369
Peter II	1369–1382
James I	1382–1398
Janus	1398–1432
John II	1432–1458
Queen Carlotta-Louis of Savoy (King Consort)	1458-1460
James II (or James the "Bastard")	1460–1473
James III	1473–1474
Caterina Cornaro (Queen)	1474–1489

Emboldened words indicate corresponding entries in the Dictionary.

## Appendix F British Personnel 1878–1960

## Administrators

Sir Garnet Wolseley (Later Lord Wolseley)	1878
Sir Robert Biddulph	1879
Sir Henry Bulwer	1886
Sir Walter Sendall	1892
Sir William Haynes-Smith	1898
High Commissioners	
Sir William Haynes-Smith	1900
Sir Charles King-Harman	1904
Sir Hamilton Goold-Adams	1911
Sir John Clauson	1915
Sir Malcolm Stevenson	1920
Governors	
Sir Malcolm Stevenson	1925
Sir Ronald Storrs	1926
Sir Reginald Stubbs	1932
Sir Herbert Palmer	1933
Sir William Battershill	1939
Sir Charles Wooley	1941
Lord Winster	1946
Sir Andrew Wright	1949
Sir Robert Armitage	1954
Sir John Harding (Later Lord Petherton)	1955
Sir Hugh Foot (Later Lord Caradon)	1957

Emboldened words indicate corresponding entries in the Dictionary.

## Appendix G Archbishops of the Cyprus Orthodox Church

Kyprianos	1810-1821
Joakim	1821–1824
Damaskinos	1824–1827
Panaretos	1827–1840
Joannikios II	1840–1849
Kyrillos I	1849–1854
Makarios I	1854–1865
Sofronios II	1865–1900
"Vacancy"	1900–1909
Kyrillos II, Papadopoulos	1909–1916
Kyrillos III, Vassiliou	1916–1933
"Vacancy" Leontios Leontiou of Paphos	
Topoteretes (Locum Tenens)	1933–1947
Leontios Leontiou	1947 (June–July)
Makarios II, Myriantheus	1947–1950
Makarios III, Mouskou	1950–1977 (3 August)
Chrysostomos I	1977-2006
Chrysostomos II	2006

Emboldened words indicate corresponding entries in the Dictionary.

## Glossary

- **Enosis:** The Union of Cyprus with Greece. A Greek word, *enosis* refers to the Greek-Cypriots' struggle to unite Cyprus with Greece. Interestingly, Cyprus was perhaps the only colony that struggled against the colonial rulers not for independence but for union with another country. Greek Cypriots, some 80 percent of the population of Cyprus, had voted for *enosis* in a plebiscite held in 1950. Finally, in 1960 Cyprus, in the face of increasing Turkish opposition, was granted independence and not *enosis*.
- Evkaf: Plural form of *waqf*. See below.
- **Taksim:** Originally an Arabic word meaning division. The term was used in the 1950s by Turkey and some Turkish Cypriots, comprising some 18 percent of the population, expressing their desire to unite part of Cyprus with Turkey after the departure of Britain from the island. Both Greece and the Greek-Cypriot community opposed this.
- **Waqf:** Properties appropriated or donated for charitable uses and to the service of God in Islamic tradition.

## Bibliography

The bibliography consists mainly of literature in English, Greek, and French. However, there are a few titles in Turkish, Italian, and German. The diversity of the languages in sources is due to Cyprus's turbulent history and its conquest by many powers. A number of authors are either Turks or from a Turkish background, though few sources are in the Turkish language. This is because sources on Cyprus in the Turkish language are relatively recent, starting mainly after the 1974 events; previous materials (in Turkish) are in comparison rather few and consist primarily of newspaper articles rather than academic literature. The variety of sources reflects the wealth of literature available on Cyprus. Nevertheless, there is still a shortage of material to address all aspects of the island in a sufficiently allencompassing manner. Of late, with the entry of Cyprus into the European Union, interest in the island has increased, and more researchers are now choosing Cyprus as the focus of their work. The protracted Cyprus problem has added to the attraction, and to this day, some regard the political problem of the island as a treasure trove for original research.

### CONTENTS

I.	History		194
	А.	General Histories	194
	В.	Early History	197
	C.	Byzantine Rule	200
	D.	Frankish Rule	201
	E.	Venetian Rule	202
	F.	Ottoman Rule	202
	G.	British Rule	204
	H.	Postindependence	207
	I.	Coup d'Etat 1974	209

	J.	Peacemaking	210
	Κ.	Accession to European Union	213
II.	Ger	neral: Descriptions, Travel, and Handbooks	213
III.		vical Studies	214
	Α.	Culture	214
		1. Archeology	214
		2. Architecture	218
		3. Art	218
		4. Music	219
		5. Theater	220
	B.	Economy	220
		1. Agriculture	220
		2. Industry	221
		3. Finance	221
		4. Labor	221
	C.	Education	222
	D.	Ethnic Minorities	222
	E.	Politics	224
		1. Government	226
		2. Law	226
	F.	Religion	227
	G.	Language	228
	H.	Literature	228
IV.	Ref	erences	230
	А.	Bibliographies and Genealogies	230
		1. Official Information	230
		2. Parties and Elections	230
		3. Cities and Places	231

### HISTORY

### **General Histories**

- Aimilianides, Achilles K. E Ellinikotes tes Kyprou [The Hellenism of Cyprus]. Nicosia: 1944.
- Alastos, Doros. Cyprus in History: A Survey of 5,000 Years. London: Zeno, 1976.

Bekker-Nielsen, Tonnes. *Roads of Ancient Cyprus*. Copenhagen, Denmark: Museum Tusculanum Press, 2004.

- Borowiec, Andrew. *Cyprus: A Troubled Island*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2000.
- Bunge, Frederica M., ed. Cyprus: A Country Study. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1980.
- Castle, Wilfrid Thomas. Cyprus 1353–1986: History, Postal History and Postage Stamps. London: Christie's-Robson Lowe, 1987.
- Cobham, Claude Delaval. *Excerpta Cypria: Materials for a History of Cyprus*. London: Cambridge University Press, 1908.
- Gallas, Kalus. Cyprus: Seeing and Experiencing. München, Germany: Suddeutscher Verlag, 1990.
- Georgiades, Kleanthes P. History of Cyprus. Nicosia: Zavallis Press, 1978.
- Goodwin, Jack C., ed. *Toponymy of Cyprus*. Fort Worth, TX: Harcourt Brace, 1977.
- Graikos, Kostas. *Cypriot History*, 2 Volumes. Cambridgeshire, England: Eothen Press, 1980–1982.
- Grivaud, Gilles. Excerpta Cypria Nova: Western Travellers in Cyprus in the 15th Century. Nicosia: Centre de Recherches Scientifiques, 1990.
- Gunnis, Rupert. Historic Cyprus: A Guide to Its Towns and Villages, Monasteries and Castles. London: Methuen, 1936.
- Hackett, John. A History of the Orthodox Church of Cyprus from the Coming of the Apostles Paul and Barnabas to the Commencement of the British Occupation, AD 45–1875. London: Methuen, 1901.
- Hadjidemetriou, Katia. *History of Cyprus*. Nicosia: Avgi Printers, 1979. ——. *A History of Cyprus*. Nicosia: Hermes Media Press, 2002.
- Hill, George Francis. A History of Cyprus. 4 Vols. London: Cambridge University Press, 1940–1952.
- Hunt, David, ed. Footprints in Cyprus: An Illustrated History. London: Trigraph, 1982.
- Joseph, Joseph S. *Cyprus: Ethnic Conflict and International Politics*. London: St Martin's Press, 1997.
- Koumoulides, John. Cyprus 1900–2000: "Footprints on the Sands of Time." New York: Pella Publishing, 2002.
- ——. Greece and Cyprus in History. Amsterdam, The Netherlands: Adolf M. Hakkert, 1985.
- Kyprianos, Archimandrite. *Chronological History of the Island of Cyprus*. Venice: Ailaraois, 1788.
- Kyrris, Konstantinos P. *History of Cyprus*. Nicosia: Nicocles Publishing House, 1985.

- ——. Kypros, Tourkia kai Ellinismos [Cyprus, Turkey and Hellenism]. Nicosia: Lambousa, 1980.
- Lang, Robert Hamilton. Cyprus: Its History, Its Present Resources and Future Prospects. London: Macmillan, 1878.
- Luke, Harry. Cyprus: A Portrait and an Appreciation. London: Harrap, 1965.
- Maier, Franz Georg. *Cyprus, from the Earliest Times to the Present Day.* London: Elek Books, 1968.
- Mallinson, William. Cyprus: A Modern History. London: I. B. Tauris, 2005.
- Maratheftis, Frixos S. Location and Development of the Town of Leucosia. Nicosia: Nicosia Municipality, 1977.
- Mogabgab, Theophilus, ed. *Supplementary Excerpts on Cyprus. Volume I.* Nicosia: Pusey Press, 1941.
- ——. Supplementary Excerpts on Cyprus. Volumes II & III. Nicosia: Zavallis Press, 1941–1945.
- Newman, Philip. A Short History of Cyprus. London: Longmans Green, 1953.
- Orphanides, Andreas, and Paul Wallace. *Sources for the History of Cyprus*. Nicosia: Greece and Cyprus Research Center, 2004.
- Panteli, Stavros. *Historical Dictionary of Cyprus*. Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 1995.
- ------. The History of Modern Cyprus. NJ: Topline Publishing, 2005.
- ------. *The Making of Modern Cyprus*. Hertfordshire, England: Interworld Publications, 1991.
- ——. New History of Cyprus: From the Earliest Times to the Present Day. Hounslow, England: East-West Publications, 1984.
- Papadopoullos, Theodoros, ed. Praktika Defterou Diethnous Kyprologikou Synedriou [Proceedings of the Second International Congress of Cypriot Studies]. Nicosia: Society of Cypriot Studies, 1985–1987.
- Pavlides, Andros. Istoria tes nesou Kyprou [History of the Island of Cyprus]. 4 Vols. Nicosia: Philokypros, 1991–1993.
- Peristiani, H. K. Archaiologikai kai Istorikai Meletai: Geniki Istoria tes Nesou Kyprou apo ton Archioaton Chronon Maihre tes Anglikes Katoches [Archaeological and Historical Studies: General History of the Island of Cyprus from Ancient Times to the British Occupation]. Nicosia: 1910.
- Purcell, Hugh Dominic. Cyprus. London: Benn, 1969.

- Sakellarios, Athanasios. Ta Kypriaka: Istoria, Georgraphia kai Ghlossa [Cyprus, a Survey: History, Geography and Language]. 2 Vols. Athens: 1890–1891.
- Salvator, Ludwig A. Levkosia: The Capital of Cyprus. London: Trigraph, 1983.
- Saville, Albany Robert. *Cyprus*. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1878.
- Society of Cypriot Studies. Praktika tou Protou Diethnous Kyprologhikou Synedriou [Proceedings of the First International Conference of Cypriot Studies]. 4 Vols. Nicosia: Society of Cypriot Studies Publishers, 1972–1973.
- Spyridakis, Konstantinos. A Brief History of Cyprus. Nicosia: Zavallis Press, 1974.
- ——. Meletai, Dialexeis, Logoi, Arthra [Studies, Lectures, Speeches, Articles]. 5 Vols. Nicosia: Zavallis Press, 1972–1974.
- Stefanidis, Ioannis D. Isle of Discord: Nationalism, Imperialism and the Making of the Cyprus Problem. New York: C. Hurst & Co., 1999.
- Stylianou, Andreas. *The History of the Cartography of Cyprus*. Nicosia: Cyprus Research Center, 1980.
- Taroulli, A. Kypros [Cyprus]. 2 Vols. Athens: 1955–1963.
- Tatton-Brown, Veronica. Ancient Cyprus. London: British Museum Press, 1997.
- Tofallis, Kypros. A Short History of Cyprus. London: Greek Institute, 1983.
- Zannetos, F. Istoria tes Nesou Kyprou apo tes Anglikes Katoches Mechre Symeron [History of the Island of Cyprus from the English Occupation to the Present Day]. 2 Vols. Larnaca, Cyprus: 1910–1911.

#### **Early History**

- Antoniades, L. Meletais Gia ten Kypro kai tes Schesis tes mai ton Ellinikon Kosmo ten Periodho ton Archeon Vasileion [Studies on Cyprus and Its Relations with the Greek World during the Period of the Ancient City-Kingdoms]. Nicosia: Pedagogical Institute of Cyprus, 1980.
- Badian, Ernst. "M. Porcius Cato and the Annexation and Early Administration of Cyprus." *The Journal of Roman Studies* 60 (1965): 110–21.
- Berchem, D. van. Chypre des Origines au Moyen-Age [Cyprus from its Origins to the Middle Ages]. Geneva, Switzerland: Université de Genève, Faculté des Lettres, 1975.

- Boardman, John. The Greeks Overseas: Their Colonies and Trade. London: Thames & Hudson, 1980.
- Bolger, Diane, and Nancy Serwint, eds. *Engendering Aphrodite: Women* and Society in Ancient Cyprus (Archaeological Reports). Boston: American School of Oriental Research, 2002.
- Brown, Ann Cynthia, and Hector William Catling. Ancient Cyprus. London: Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford, 1975.
- Buchholz, Hans-Günter, and Vassos Karageorghis. Prehistoric Greece and Cyprus. London: Phaidon Press, 1973.
- Casson, Stanley. Ancient Cyprus: Its Art and Archaeology. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1970.
- Catling, Hector William. *Cyprus in the Neolithic and Chalcolithic Periods*. London: Cambridge University Press, 1970.
- Cesnola, Alessandro Palma di. Salaminia, Cyprus: The History, Treasures and Antiquities of Salamis. London: Trubner, 1882.
- Cesnola, Luigi Palma di. *Cyprus: Its Ancient Cities, Tombs and Temples.* New York: Harper & Bros., 1878.
- Delicostopoulos, Athan J. St. Paul's Journeys to Greece and Cyprus. Athens: Efstathiades Group, 1979.
- Dikaios, Porphyrios, and James Rivers Stewart. *The Stone Age and the Early Bronze Age in Cyprus*. Lund, Sweden: The Swedish Cyprus Expedition, 1962.
- Gjerstad, Einar. Studies in Prehistoric Cyprus. Vol. 1 A-B. Uppsala, Sweden: Lundequistka, 1926.
- Hadjioannou, Kyriacos E. Archaia Kypros eis Tas Ellinikas Pighas [Ancient Cyprus in the Greek Sources]. 5 Vols. Nicosia: Holy Archdiocese of Cyprus, 1971–1980.
- James, Jamie, and David Soren. *Kourion: The Search for a Lost Roman City.* New York: Anchor Press-Doubleday, 1988.
- Jones, Arnold. The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces. Oxford, England: Clarendon Press, 1971.
- Karageorghis, Vassos. *Archaia Kypros [Ancient Cyprus]*. Athens: Cultural Center of the National Bank, 1978.

——. Cyprus: From the Stone Age to the Romans. London: Thames & Hudson, 1982.

- - ——. Salamis in Cyprus: History and Archaeology, the State of Research. Paris: Paris Editions du CNRS, 1980.
  - . Salamis in Cyprus: Homeric, Hellenistic and Roman. London: Thames & Hudson, 1969.

- Keswani, Priscilla. Mortuary Ritual and Society in Bronze Age Cyprus. Monographs in Mediterranean Archaeology. London: Equinox Publishing, 2004.
- Konstantinides, Photios S. O Eithrides Kai Prostatis tes Kypriakis Eklesias Apostolos Varnavas [St. Barnabas: The Founder and the Protector of the Church of Cyprus]. Nicosia: Nicosia Printers, 1971.
- Lloyd-Jones, H. 'Stasinus and the Cypria.' In Stasinos. Syndesmos Hellenon Philologon Kypriou, 4 vols. 1968–1972. Athens: Cultural Center of the National Bank, 1978.
- Lubsen-Admiral, Stella, M., and . Crouwel, en Joost. *Cyprus & Aphrodite*. The Hague, The Netherlands: SDU Uitgeverij, 1989.
- Meiggs, Russell. "Cyprus in Fifth Century." In *The Athenian Empire*. Oxford, England: Clarendon Press, 1972.
- Mitford, Terence Bruce. "Roman Cyprus." In *The Rise and Decline of the Roman World. The History and Civilization of Rome in the Mirror of New Research*, edited by H. Temporini and W. Hass. Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1980.
- Nicolaou, Ino Michaelidou. Prosopography of Ptolemaic Cyprus. Goteborg, Sweden: Paul Astroms Forlag, 1976.
- Nicolaou, Kyriakos. The Religion of Cyprus. Stasions II, Vol. 2. 1964–1965.
- Peltenburg, Edgar J., and A. Wasse, eds. *Neolithic Revolution: New Perspectives on Southwest Asia in Light of Recent Discoveries on Cyprus (Levant Supplementary).* Oakville, CT: Oxbow Books, 2004.
- Pouilloux, Jean. "The Encounter of Hellenism with the East in Cyprus between 1200 and 300 B.C." In Assimilation and Resistance in Greco-Roman Culture in the Ancient World, edited by D.M. Pippidi, Bucharest: Editura Academiei; Paris: Societe d' editions "Les Belles Letters," 1976.

——. "Religious Syncretism in Salamis, Cyprus." In *Syncretisms in the Religions of Antiquity*, edited by Fr. Dunard and P. Leveque. Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 1975.

- Reyes. A. T. Archaic Cyprus: A Study on Textual and Archaeological Evidence. Oxford, England: Clarendon Press, 1994.
- Spyridakis, Konstantinos. Evagoras I. von Salamis [Evagoras I of Salamis]. Stuttgart, Germany: W. Kohlhammer, 1935.
- Steele, Louise. *Cyprus before History: From the Earliest Settlers to the End of the Bronze Age.* London: Gerald Duckworth, 2003.
- Strand, Wilson E. Voice of Stone: The History of Ancient Cyprus. Nicosia: Zavallis Press, 1974.
- Stylianou, Petros J. *The Age of the Kingdoms: A Political History of Cyprus in the Archaic and Classical Periods*. Nicosia: Archbishop Makarios III Foundation, 1989.

- Sznycer, Maurice, and Olivier Masson. Researches Concerning the Phoenicians in Cyprus. Paris: Droz, 1972.
- Vermeule, Cornelius Clarkson. Greek and Roman Cyprus: Art from Classical Through Late Antique Times. Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1976.
- Westholm, Alfred, and Olof Vessberg. "The Hellenistic and Roman Periods in Cyprus." In *The Swedish Cyprus Expedition: Vol. 4, Part 3*, 237–39. Stockholm: Swedish Cyprus Expedition, 1956.
- Yon, Marguerite, and Marie-Josè Chavane. Salamine de Chypre X: Testiminia Salaminia [Salamis on Cyprus X: Salaminian Testimonies]. Paris: Centre d'Archèologie Chypriote-Diffussion de Boccard, 1978.

## **Byzantine Rule**

- Carr, Annemarie Weyl. *Byzantine Illumination 1150–1250: The Study of a Provincial Tradition*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1987.
- Constantinides, Costas N. Higher Education in Byzantium in the Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries (1204–ca.1310). Nicosia: Cyprus Research Center, 1982.
- Dikigoropoulos, Andreas Ioannou. "The Political Status of Cyprus AD 648–965." In *Report of the Department of Antiquities 1940–1948*. Nicosia: Department of Antiquities, 1958.
- Efthimiou, Miltiades B. *Greeks and Latins in Cyprus in the 13th Century*. Brookline, MA: Hellenic College Press, 1987.
- Georghallides, George, and Anthony Bryer. *The Sweet Land of Cyprus* (Papers given at the Twenty-Fifth Jubilee Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Birmingham, March 1991). Nicosia: Cyprus Research Center for the Society for the Promotion of Byzantine Studies, 1993.
- Hadjissava, Sophocles. Olive Oil Processing in Cyprus from the Bronze Age to the Byzantine Period. Goteborg, Sweden: Paul Asroms Forlag, 1992.
- Jakovljevic, Andrija. *Catalogue of Byzantine Chant Manuscripts in the Monastic and Episcopal Libraries of Cyprus*. Nicosia: Cyprus Research Center, 1990.
- Jakovljevic, Andrija, Ewald Hein, and Brigitte Kleidt. *Cyprus. Byzantine Churches and Monasteries. Mosaics and Frescoes.* Ratingen, Germany: Melina Verlag, 1998.
- Jenkins, Romilly James. *Byzantium: The Imperial Centuries AD 610–1071*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1966.

- Karageorghis, Vassos. *Excavations in the Necropolis of Salamis*. Nicosia: Department of Antiquities, 1967–1978.
- Kyrris, Costas P. "Military Colonies in Cyprus in the Byzantine Period: Their Character, Purpose and Extent." *Byzantinosvica* 31 (1970): 157–81.
- Mango, Cyril, ed. A Byzantine Hagiographer at Work: Leontios of Neapolis. Byzantium and the West. Essays on the Art of the European Middle Ages. Vienna: Austrian Academy of Science, 1984.
- Mango, Cyrill A. Byzantium and its Image: History and Culture of the Byzantine Empire and its Heritage. London: Variorum Reprints, 1984.

- Megaw, Arthur. "Reflections on Byzantine Paphos." In Kathegetria Essays Presented to Joan Hussey on Her 80th Birthday, edited by J. Chrysostomides. Caberley, England: Porphyrogenitus, 1988.
- Mitford, Terence Bruce. *The Inscription of Kourion*. Philadelphia, PA: American Philosophical Society, 1971.
- Papadakis, Aristeides. Crisis in Byzantium: The Filioque Controversy in the Patriarchate of Gregory II of Cyprus 1283–1289. New York: Fordham University Press, 1983.
- Papadopoullos, Theodoros. Cyprus: Ethnic and Sociocultural Frontier of the Byzantine World: Relations and Connections, 15th International Congress of Byzantine Studies 5. Athens: International Congress of Byzantine Studies, 1976.
- Rudt de Collenberg, Wipertus Hugo. "L'empereur Isaac de Chypre et sa fille (1155–1207)" ["Emperor Isaac of Cyprus and His Daughter (1155–1207)"]. *Byzantion* 38, no. 1 (1968): 123–71.
- Vryonis, Speros. *Byzantine Cyprus*. Nicosia: Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation, 1990.

## Frankish Rule

Aimilianides, Achilles K. Frankish Cyprus. Nicosia: 1938.

Kourites, Philaretes I. E Orthodoxos Ekklesia en Kypro epi Frangokratias [The Orthodox Church of Cyprus during the Frankish Period]. Athens: Karavias, 1982. Miller, William. "Greece and the Aegean under Frank and Venetian Domination 1204–1571." In *The Cambridge Medieval History*, edited by J. R. Tanner, vol. IV, 852–66. London: Cambridge University Press, 1923.

### Venetian Rule

- Arbel, Benjamin, Bernard Hamilton, and David Jacoby. *Latins and Greeks in the Eastern Mediterranean after 1204.* London: Frank Cass, 1989.
- Braudel, Fernand. *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II.* New York: Harper & Row, 1972.
- Coldstream, Nicola. *Nicosia: Gothic City to Venetian Fortress*. Nicosia: Leventis Municipal Museum, 1993.
- Efthimiou, Miltiades Basil. Greeks and Latins on Cyprus in the 13th Century. Brookline, MA: Hellenic College Press, 1987.
- Etienne. Description of the Entire Island of Cyprus and of the Kings, Princes and Lords, Both Pagan and Christian, Who Have Held Sway in Her. Famagusta, Cyprus: Editions L'Oiseau, 1968.
- Gradiakos, Soterios. *The Coins of Cyprus 1489–1571*. Chicago: Obol International, 1975.
- Hadjiyiasemi, Androula. *Lefkara Lace Embroidery*. Nicosia: Charalambos I. Philippides & Son, 1987.
- Hunt, David, and Iro Hunt, eds. Caterina Cornaro, Queen of Cyprus. London: Trigraph in Association with the Bank of Cyprus, 1989.
- Jacoby, David. *Studies on the Crusader States and on Venetian Expansion*. London: Variorum Reprints, 1989.
- Jenness, Dimond. *The Economics of Cyprus: A Survey to 1941*. Montreal, ON: McGill University Press, 1962.
- La Monte, John L. A Register of the Cartulary of the Cathedral of Santa Sophia of Nicosia. Nicosia: Secretariat de la Revue, 1930.
- Miller, William. "Greece and the Aegean under Frank and Venetian Domination 1204–1571." In *The Cambridge Medieval History*, edited by J. R. Tanner, vol. IV. London: Cambridge University Press, 1927.
- Perbellini, Gianni. *Le Fortificazioni di Cipro dal X al XVI Secolo*. Rome: Istituto Italiano dei Castelli, 1975.

#### Ottoman Rule

Alasya, Halil Fikret. History of Cyprus and of Turkish Historical Monuments in Cyprus. Ankara, Turkey: Ay Yildiz Matbaasi, 1977.

- Cicek, Kemal. "Living Together: Muslim–Christian Relations in Eighteenth-Century Cyprus as Reflected by the Sharia Court Records." In *Islam and Christian–Muslim Relations*, vol. 4, no. 1, 36–64. Oxon, England: Routledge Taylor and Francis Group, 1993.
- Cobham, Claude Delaval. *The Sieges of Nicosia and Famagusta with a Sketch of the Earlier History of Cyprus*. London: St. Vincent's Press, 1899.
- Esin, Emel. *Turkish Art in Cyprus*. Ankara, Turkey: Ayyildiz Matbassi, 1969.
- Foglietta, Uberto. *The Sieges of Nicosia and Famagusta*. London: Waterlow & Sons, 1903.
- Gazioglou, Ahmet C. The Turks in Cyprus: A Province of the Ottoman Empire 1571–1878. London: K. Rustem & Bros., 1990.
- Inalcik, Halil. "The Main Problems Concerning the History of Cyprus." *Cultura Turcia* 1, no.1 (1964): 4–51.
- ——. *The Ottoman Empire: The Classical Age: 1300–1600.* London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1973.
- Jennings, Ronald C. Christians and Muslims in Ottoman Cyprus and the Mediterranean World, 1571–1640. New York: New York University Studies in Near Eastern Civilization/New York University Press, 1992.
- Katsiaounis, Rolandos. Labour, Society and Politics in Cyprus during the Second Half of the 19th Century. Nicosia: Cyprus Research Center, 1996.
- Kepiades, Georgios I. Apomnemonevmata ton kata to 1821 en te Nyso Kypro Traghikonskeinon [Reminiscences of the 1821 Tragic Events in the Island of Cyprus]. Alexandria, Egypt: 1888.
- Kizilyurek, Niyazi. Milliyetçilik Kıskacında Kıbrıs [Cyprus in the Clutches of Nationalism]. Istanbul, Turkey: Iletisim Yayinlari, 2005.
- Konstantinides, Photios C. Archimandrite e Theisia Ethnomartyros Archiepiscopou Kyprianou [The Sacrifice of the National Martyr Archbishop Kyprianos]. Nicosia: 1961.
- Kourmoulides, John. Cyprus and the War of Greek Independence 1821– 1829. London: Zeno, 1974.
- Kyrris, Costas P. *The Kanakaria Documents 1666–1850*. Nicosia: Cyprus Research Center, 1987.
- ——. Kypros, Tourkia kai Ellinismos [Cyprus, Turkey and Hellenism]. Nicosia: Lambousa, 1980.
- Louis, De M. The Island of Cyprus: Its Present Position and Its Recollections of the Middle Ages. Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1879.
- Luke, Harry C. Cyprus under the Turks 1571–1878. London: Oxford University Press, 1921.

- Marianthopoullos, K. Hadjigeorgakis Kornaisios, o Thragoumanos tes Kyprou 1779–1809 [Hadjigeorgakis Kornesios, the Dragoman of Cyprus 1779–1809]. Nicosia: 1934.
- Mariti, Giovanni. Travels in the Island of Cyprus: With Contemporary Accounts of the Sieges of Nicosia and Famagusta. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1909.
- Michaelides, Vassilis. Ei 9 Eiouliou tou 1821 en Kypro: Drama eis Kypriakin thialekton [The 9th July 1821 in Cyprus: Drama (Poem) in the Cypriot dialect]. Famagusta, Cyprus: 1960.
- Papadopoullos, Theodoros Ch. Social and Historical Data on Population, 1570–1881. Nicosia: Cyprus Research Center, 1965.
- Studies and Documents Relating to the History of the Greek Church and People under Turkish Domination. New York: AMS Publishing, 1973.
- Protopsaltes, Emm. G. E Kypros eis ton Agona tou 1821 [Cyprus in the Struggle of 1821]. Athens: Enoseos Kyprion Ellados, 1971.
- Ross, Ludwig. A Journey to Cyprus (February and March 1845). Nicosia: Government Printing House, 1910.
- Rudt de Collenberg, Wipertus Hugo. *Captivity and Ransom of Christians in the Mediterranean 1570–1600, on the Basis of the* Litterae Hortatoriae *of the Vatican Secret Archive*. Paris: Le Leopard d'Or, 1987.

Samara, P. Ei Elliniki katagoge ton Tourkokyprion [The Greek Origins of the Turkish Cypriots]. Athens: 1987.

- Severis, Rita C., ed. *The Diaries of Lorenzo Warriner Pease 1834–1839*. *Vols. I–II.* London: Ashgate, 2002.
- Strauss, J. "How Cyprus Came Under Turkish Rule: A Conquest and the Historians." Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes (Vienna) 82 (1992).
- Tatton-Brown, Veronica. Cyprus in the 19th Century: Fact, Fancy and Fiction. Oxford, England: Oxford Books, 2001.
- Theocharides, Ioannes P. Katalogos Othomanikon Engraphon tes Kyprou apo ta Archeia tes Ethnikes Vivliothekes tes Sofias 1571–1878 [A Catalogue of Ottoman Documents of Cyprus from the Archives of the Sofia National Library 1571–1878]. Nicosia: Cyprus Research Center, 1984.

## **British Rule**

Anastasiou, Harry. *The Broken Olive Branch: Nationalism, Ethnic Conflict and the Quest for Peace in Cyprus.* Bloomington, IN: Author House, 2006.

- Armstrong, Hamilton Fish. "The Unredeemed Isles of Greece." *Foreign Affairs* 4, no. 1 (October 1925): 154–57.
- Arnold, Percy. *Cyprus Challenge. A Colonial Island and Its Aspirations: Reminiscences of a Former Editor of the Cyprus* Post. London: Hogarth Press, 1956.
- Briscoe, Neil. Britain and UN Peacekeeping 1948–1967. New York: Palgrave, 2003.
- Captain Savile, Albany Robert. *Cyprus*. London: Printed under the Superintendence of Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1878.
- Cavendish, Anne. *Cyprus 1878: The Journal of Sir Garnet Wolseley*. Nicosia: Cultural Centre of the Popular Bank of Cyprus, 1991.
- Chacalli, George. *Cyprus under British Rule*. Nicosia: Phone tis Kyprou, 1902.
- Dendias, Michael. The Cypriot Question: Considered from the Points of History and International Law. Athens: Pyrsos, 1937.
- Dixion, William H. British Cyprus. London: Chapman & Hall, 1879.
- Faustmann, Hubert, and Nicos Peristianis. Britain in Cyprus: Colonialism and Post-Colonialism, 1878–2006. Mannheim, Germany: BIBLIOPOLIS, 2006.
- Franz, von Löher. Cyprus: Historical and Descriptive. From the Earliest Times to the Present day. New York: R. Worthington, 1878.
- Georghallides, George. *Cyprus and the Governorship of Sir Ronald Storrs*. Nicosia: Cyprus Research Center, 1985.
- ——. A Political and Administrative History of Cyprus 1918–1926 with a Survey of the Foundation of British Rule. Nicosia: Research Centre, 1979.
- Hadjilyra, Alexander-Michael. *The Cyprus Government Railway (1905–1951)*. Nicosia: 2006.
- Harfield, Alan. The Life and Times of a Victorian Officer. Wincanton, England: The Wincanton Press, 1986.
- Hatzivassiliou, Evanthis. Britain and the International Status of Cyprus, 1955–1959. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 2002.
- ——. *The Cyprus Question, 1878–1960: The Constitutional Aspect.* Minneapolis: Minnesota Mediterranean and East European Monographs, a Modern Greek Studies Yearbook Supplement no. 11, 2002.
- Holland, Robert. *Britain and the Revolt in Cyprus, 1954–1959.* Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 1998.
- Katsiaounis, Rolandos. *Labour, Society and Politics in Cyprus during the Second Half of the 19th Century*. Nicosia: Cyprus Research Center, 1996.

- 206 BIBLIOGRAPHY
- Kelling, George Horton. *Countdown to Rebellion: British Policy in Cyprus* 1939–1955. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1990.
- Lang, Robert Hamilton. Cyprus: Its History, Its Present Resources and Future Prospects. London: Macmillan, 1878.
- Lee, Dwight Erwin. *Great Britain and Cyprus Convention Policy of 1878.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1934.
- Leventis, Yiorghos. *Cyprus: The Struggle for Self-Determination in the 1940s*. Frankfurt, Germany: Peter Lang, 2002.
- Markides, Diana, and Robert Holland. *The British and the Hellenes: Struggles for Mastery in the Eastern Mediterranean 1850–1960.* Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 2006.
- McHenry, James A. *The Uneasy Partnership on Cyprus*, 1919–1939. New York: Garland Publishing Inc., 1987.
- Medlicott, William Norton. "The Gladstone Government and the Cyprus Convention 1880–1885." *Journal of Modern History* 12, no. 2 (June 1940): 186–208.
- Orr, Charles William James. Cyprus under British Rule. London: Zeno, 1972.
- Papadakis, Yiannis, Nicos Peristianis, and Gisela Welz, eds. Divided Cyprus: Modernity, History and an Island in Conflict. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006.
- Radford, Michael. *The Railways of Cyprus*. Nicosia: The Laiki Group Cultural Centre, 2003.
- Rosenbaum, Naomi. "Success in Foreign Policy: The British in Cyprus, 1879–1960." *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 3, no. 4 (December 1970): 605–27.
- Santamas, Michael L. *British Awards in Cyprus 1878–1960*. Larnaca, Cyprus: printed privately, 1986.
- Soulioti, Stella. *Fettered Independence: Cyprus, 1878–1964, Vols. I–II.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 2006.
- Storrs, Ronald. *Disturbances in Cyprus in October 1931*. London: HM Stationery Office, 1932.
- . Orientations. London: Nicholson & Watson, 1945.
- Storrs, Ronald, and Justin O' Brien. *The Handbook of Cyprus*. London: Christopher's, 1930.
- Tatton-Brown, Veronica. *Cyprus in the 19th Century: Fact, Fancy and Fiction*. Oxford, England: Oxbow Books, 2001.

- Temperley, Harold. "Disraeli and Cyprus." *English Historical Review* 46, no. 182 (April 1931): 274–79.
- Toynbee, Arnold Joseph. "Cyprus, the British Empire and Greece." In *Survey of International Affairs 1931*, 354–94. London: Oxford University Press, 1932.
- Turner B. *The Story of the Cyprus Government Railway*. London: Mechanical Engineering Publications, 1979.
- Varnavas, Andreas. A History of the Liberation Struggle of EOKA (1955–1959). Nicosia: EOKA Liberation Struggle 1955–59 Foundation, 2004.

## Postindependence

- An, A. Kıbrıs Sorunun Perde Arkası: Adadaki İngiliz Üsleri ve Amerikan Tesisleri [Behind the Curtain of the Cyprus Problem: British Bases and American Facilities]. Istanbul: Gelenek Yayinlari, 2000.
- Anastasiou, Harry. *The Broken Olive Branch: Nationalism, Ethnic Conflict and the Quest for Peace in Cyprus.* Bloomington, IN: Author House, 2006.
- Attalides, Michael. *Cyprus: Nationalism and International Politics*. Mannheim, Germany: BIBLIOPOLIS, 2003.
- Briscoe, Neil. Britain and UN Peacekeeping 1948–1967. New York: Palgrave, 2003.
- Cetin, M. Kibris Cumhuriyeti ve Bir Liderin Dogusu [The Cyprus Republic and the Birth of a Leader]. Nicosia, Cyprus: Basbakanlik Tanitma Dairesi Yayini, 1995.
- Constantinou, Costas. "On the Cypriot States of Exception." *International Political Sociology* 2, no. 2 (2008): 145–64.
- Coufoudakis, Van. Cyprus: A Contemporary Problem in Historical Perspective. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 2006.

- Denktash, Rauf. "Aporias of Identity: Bicommunalism, Hybridity and the Cyprus Problem." *Cooperation and Conflict* 42, no. 3 (2007): 247–70.
  - Dünden Bugüne, Bugünden Geleceğe Denktaş: Mücadele Ile Dolu Bir Ömür [From Yesterday to Today, from Today to the Future Denktash: The Life Filled with Struggle]. Lefkoşa, Cyprus: Raif Denktaş Eğitim Vakfı Yayını, 2000.
- Dodd, Clement Henry. *Cyprus: The Need for New Perspectives*. Cambridgeshire, England: Eothen Press, 1999.

------. The Cyprus Imbroglio. Cambridgeshire, England: Eothen Press, 1998.

- Faustmann, Hubert, and Nicos Peristianis, eds. Britain in Cyprus: Colonialism and Post-Colonialism, 1878–2006. Mannheim, Germany: BIBLIOPOLIS, 2006.
- Fouskas, Vassilis. Reflections on the Cyprus Issue and the Turkish Invasions of 1974. Kingston, England: Kingston University, European Research Center, 2001.
- Hatzivassiliou, Evanthis. The Cyprus Question, 1878–1960: The Constitutional Aspect. Minnesota Mediterranean and East European Monographs, A Modern Greek Studies Yearbook Supplement Number 11. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 2002.
- James, Alan. *Keeping the Peace in the Cyprus Crisis of 1963–64*. New York: Palgrave, 2002.
- Koumoulides, John. Cyprus in Transition, 1960–1985. London: Trigraph, 1986.
- Macris, Nicolas D., ed. The 1960 Treaties on Cyprus and Selected Subsequent Acts. Mannheim, Germany: BIBLIOPOLIS, 2003.
- Markides, Diana Weston. Cyprus 1957–1963: From Colonial Conflict to Constitutional Crisis: The Key Role of the Municipal Issue. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001.
- Niyazi, Berkes. Unutulan Yillar [Disappearing Years]. Istanbul: İletişim Yayinlari, 1997.
- Okan, A. Rauf R. Denktas, Kader Cizgisi (Konusmalar) [Rauf R. Denktash, Line of Destiny (Conversations)]. 1995.
- Papadakis, Yiannis, Nicos Peristianis, and Gisela Welz, eds. Divided Cyprus: Modernity, History and an Island in Conflict. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006.
- Polyviou, Polyvios G. Cyprus: Conflict and Negotiation 1960–1980. London: Duckworth, 1980.
- Soulioti, Stella. *Fettered Independence: Cyprus, 1878–1964.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006.
- Theophanous, Andrew, and Yiannis Tirkides. *Reflections on the Relations between Britain and the Republic of Cyprus and the Case of the British Sovereign Base Areas*. Nicosia: Intercollege Press, 2007.

## Coup d'Etat, 1974

Acheson, Dean. "Cyprus: The Anatomy of the Problem." Chicago Bar Record 46, no. 8 (May 1965): 349–56.

- An, A. Kıbrıs Sorunun Perde Arkası: Adadaki İngiliz Üsleri ve Amerikan Tesisleri [Behind the Curtain of the Cyprus Problem: British Bases and American Facilities]. Istanbul: Gelenek Yayinlari, 2000.
- Anastasiou, Harry. *The Broken Olive Branch: Nationalism, Ethnic Conflict and the Quest for Peace in Cyprus.* Bloomington, IN: Author House, 2006.
- Clerides, Glafkos. Cyprus: My Deposition. Nicosia: Alitha Publishing, 1989.
- Denktaş, Rauf. Dünden Bugüne, Bugünden Geleceğe Denktaş: Mücadele İle Dolu Bir Ömür [From Yesterday to Today, from Today to the Future Denktash: The Life Filled with Struggle]. Lefkoşa, Cyprus: Raif Denktaş Eğitim Vakfı Yayını, 2000.
- Drevet, Jean-Francois. Cyprus, the Extreme Island: A Chronicle of the Forgotten Europe. Paris: Syros/Alternative, 1991.
- Droushiotis, Makarios. *Cyprus 1974: Greek Coup and Turkish Invasion*. Mannheim, Germany: BIBLIOPOLIS, 2002.
- Foley, Charles. Legacy of Strife: Cyprus from Rebellion to Civil War. London: Penguin, 1964.
- Fouskas, Vassilis. Reflections on the Cyprus Issue and the Turkish Invasions of 1974. Kingston, England: Kingston University, European Research Center, 2001.
- Jansen, Michael. War and Cultural Heritage: Cyprus after the 1974 Turkish Invasion. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005.
- Karayiannis, G. *The Cyprus Problem*. Nicosia: Pan Publishing House, 1965.
- Kizilyurek, Niyazi. *Milliyetçilik Kıskacında Kıbrıs [Cyprus in the Clinches of Nationalism]*. Istanbul: Iletisim Yayinlari, 2005.
- Kyriakides, Stanley. Cyprus Constitution and Crisis Government. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1968.
- Lumsden, Malvern. "The Cyprus Conflict as a Prisoner's Dilemma Game." Journal of Conflict Resolution 17, no. 1 (March 1973): 7–32.
- Markides, Kyriacos. *The Rise and Fall of the Cyprus Republic*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1977.
- Mayes, Stanley. *Makarios: A Biography*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1981.
- Miller, Linda. *Cyprus: The Law and Politics of Civil Strife*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, Center for International Affairs, 1968.
- O'Malley, Brendan, and Ian Craig. *The Cyprus Conspiracy: America, Espionage and the Turkish Invasion*. London: I. B. Tauris, 2001.

- Papadakis, Yiannis. Echoes from the Dead Zone: Across the Cyprus Divide. London: I. B. Tauris, 2005.
- Papadakis, Yiannis, Nicos Peristianis, and Gisela Welz, eds. Divided Cyprus: Modernity, History and an Island in Conflict. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006.
- Polyviou, Polyvios G. Cyprus: Conflict and Negotiation 1960–1980. London: Duckworth, 1980.
- Stavrinides, Zenon. *The Cyprus Conflict: National Identity and Statehood*. Wakefield, England: the author, 1976.
- Stephens, Robert Henry. Cyprus, a Place of Arms: Power Politics and Ethnic Conflict in the Eastern Mediterranean. London: Pall Mall, 1966.
- Tenekides, Georges. Cyprus: Recent History and Future Prospects. Paris: Nagel, 1964.
- Tzermias, Pavlos. Geschichte der Republik Zypern [History of the Republic of Cyprus]. Tubingen, Germany: A. Franck Verlag, 1991.
- Uludag, Sevgül. Oysters with Missing Pearls: Untold Stories about Missing Persons, Mass Graves and Memories from the Past of Cyprus. Nicosia: IKME & BILBAN, 2006.
- Vanezis, P. Nichola. *Makarios: Faith and Power*. London: Aberlard-Schuman, 1971.
- ——. Makarios: Life and Leadership. London: Abelard-Schuman, 1979.
- Xydis, Stephen George. *Cyprus: Reluctant Republic*. The Hague, The Netherlands: Mouton, 1973.

#### Peacemaking

- Anastasiou, Harry. The Broken Olive Branch: Nationalism, Ethnic Conflict and the Quest for Peace in Cyprus. Bloomington, IN: Author House, 2006.
- Boyd, James M. "Cyprus: Episode in Peacekeeping." International Organization 20 (1966): 1–17.
- Briscoe, Neil. Britain and UN Peacekeeping 1948–1967. New York: Palgrave, 2003.
- Brown, Gavin. Police as Peacekeepers: The History of the Australian and New Zealand Police Serving with the UN Force in Cyprus 1964–1984. Melbourne, Australia: UNCIPOL Victoria, 1984.

- Coufoudakis, Van. "United Nations Peacekeeping and Peacemaking and the Cyprus Question." *The Western Political Quarterly* 29, no. 3 (September 1976): 457–73.
- Coufoudakis, Van, and Klearchos Kyriakides. *The Case against the Annan Plan.* London: Lobby for Cyprus, 2004.
- Gobbi, Hugo J. Rethinking Cyprus. Tel Aviv, Israel: Aurora, 1993.
- Grundy-Warr, Carl. Eurasia. London: Routledge, 1994.
- Hannay, David. *Cyprus: The Search for a Solution*. New York: I. B. Tauris, 2005.
- Harbottle, Michael. *The Impartial Soldier*. London: Oxford University Press for the Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1970.

——. "The Strategy of Third Party Intervention in Conflict Situations." *International Journal (Canada)* 35, no. 1 (1980): 118–31.

- Henn, Francis. A Business of Some Heat: The United Nations Force in Cyprus 1972–74. Gloucestershire, England: Leo Cooper, 2004.
- ——. "The Nicosia Airport Incident of 1974: A Peacekeeping Gamble." *International Peacekeeping* 1, no. 1 (Spring 1994): 80–98.
- Jacovides, Andreas J. Cyprus: International Law and the Prospects for Settlement. American Society of International Law Proceedings of the 78th Annual Meeting, Washington, D.C., Vol. 78. Washington, DC: American Society of International Law, 1984, 47.
- James, Alan. *Peacekeeping in International Politics*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1990.
- ——. "The UN Force in Cyprus." International Affairs (London) 65 (1989): 481–500.
- Kaloudis, George S. *The Role of the UN in Cyprus from 1964 to 1979*. New York: Peter Lang, 1991.
- Ker-Lindsay, James. *EU Accession and UN Peacemaking in Cyprus*. Basingstoke, England: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005.
- Luard, Evan. *The International Regulation of Civil Wars*. New York: New York University Press, 1972.
- Mirbagheri, Farid. *Cyprus and International Peacemaking*. London: Hurst, 1998.

- Moskos, Charles C. Peace Soldiers: The Sociology of a United Nations Military Force. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976.
- Papadakis, Yiannis, Nicos Peristianis, and Gisela Welz, eds. Divided Cyprus: Modernity, History and an Island in Conflict. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006.

- Plaza, Galo. "Report of the United Nations Mediator on Cyprus to the Secretary General." United Nations Security Council Official Records, Supplement (January–June 1965).
- Potier, Tim. A Functional Cyprus Settlement: The Constitutional Dimension. Peleus, Studien zur Archaologie und Geschichte Griechenlands und Zyperns, Vol. 38. Ruhpolding, Germany: Verlag, Franz Philipp Rutzen, 2007.
- Richmond, Oliver P. *Mediating in Cyprus: The Cypriot Communities and the United Nations.* London: Frank Cass, 1998.
- Richmond, Oliver P., and James Ker-Lindsay, eds. *The Work of the UN in Cyprus: Promoting Peace and Development*. New York: Palgrave, 2001.
- Rikhye, Indar Jit, Michael Harbottle, and Bjørn Egge. *The Thin Blue Line: International Peacekeeping and Its Future.* New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1974.
- Rosenbaum, Naomi. "Cyprus and the United Nations: An Appreciation of Parliamentary Diplomacy." *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science* 33 (1967): 218–31.
- Stegenga, James A. *The United Nations Force in Cyprus*. Columbus: Ohio State University Press for the Mershon Center for Education in National Security, 1968.
- Theodorides, John. "The United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus." *International and Comparative Law Quarterly* 31, no. 4 (October 1982): 765–83.
- Tocci, Nathalie. *EU Accession Dynamics and Conflict Resolution: Catalysing Peace or Consolidating Partition in Cyprus.* London: Ashgate, 2004.
- United Nations. *The Blue Helmets*. New York: United Nations Department of Public Information, 1990.
- Urquhart, Brian. A Life in Peace and War. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1987.
- Waldheim, Kurt. In the Eye of the Storm. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1985.

## Accession to the European Union

- Christou, George. The European Union and Enlargement: The Case of Cyprus. New York: Palgrave, 2004.
- Ker-Lindsay, James. EU Accession and UN Peacemaking in Cyprus. Basingstoke, England: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005.

- Kranidiotis, Yannos. The Enlargement of the European Union and the Mediterranean. Nicosia: ESOBGA, 1995.
- Stefanou, Constantin, ed. Cyprus and the EU: The Road to Accession. London: Ashgate, 2005.
- Theophanous, Andreas. *The Cyprus Question and the EU: The Challenge and Promise*. Nicosia: Intercollege Press, 2004.
- Theophanous, Andreas, Nicos Peristianis, and Andreas Ioannou. *Cyprus and the European Union*. Nicosia: Intercollege Press, 1999.
- Welin, Gustaf, and Christer O. Ekelund. The UN in Cyprus: Swedish Peace-keeping Operations 1964–1993. London: Hurst, 2004.

## **GENERAL: DESCRIPTIONS, TRAVEL, AND HANDBOOKS**

- Boatswain, Tim. A Traveller's History of Cyprus. Gloucestershire, England: Arris Books, 2005.
- Constantinides, C. *Higher Education in Byzantium in the 13th and Early 14th Centuries.* Nicosia: Cyprus Research Centre, 1986.
- Hutchinson, Joseph T., and Claude Delaval Cobham. A Handbook of Cyprus. London: Edward Stanford, 2001.
- Karagiorges, Andreas G. Educational Development in Cyprus 1960–1977. Nicosia: Ministry of Education and Culture, Curriculum Development Unit, 1982.
- Koullis, Leonidas K. *Greek Education in Cyprus*. Nicosia: Education Office Greek Communal Chamber, 1964.
- Parker, Robin. Aphrodite's Realm: An Illustrated Guide and Handbook to Cyprus. Nicosia: Zavallis Press, 1969.
- Persianis, Panagiotes. Church and the State in Cyprus' Education: The Contribution of the Greek Orthodox Church to Cyprus' Education during the British Administration 1878–1960. Nicosia: Violaris, 1978.
- ——. The Political and Economic Factors as the Main Determinants of Educational Policy in Independent Cyprus, 1960–1970. Nicosia: Pedagogical Institute of Cyprus, 1978.
- Press and Information Office (PIO), Republic of Cyprus. *About Cyprus*. Nicosia: PIO, 2004.
- Spyridakis, Konstantinos. The Educational Policy of the British Government in Cyprus 1878–1952. Nicosia: Ethnarchy Office Nicosia, 1952.

Weir, William W. Education in Cyprus: Some Theories and Practices in Education in the Island of Cyprus since 1878. Nicosia: Cosmos Press, 1952.

### **TOPICAL STUDIES**

#### Culture

Bryant, Rebecca. *Imagining the Modern: The Cultures of Nationalism in Cyprus*. London: I. B. Tauris, 2004.

#### Archeology

- Adelman, Charles Martin. Cypro-Geometric Pottery: Refinements in Classification. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology, 47. Göteborg, Sweden: 1976.
- Astrom, Paul. Acta Cypria: Acts of an International Congress on Cypriot Archeology Held on 22–24 August 1991. Göteborg, Sweden: Paul Astroms Forlag, 1991.
- ——. Who's Who in Cypriot Archaeology: Bibliographical Information and Biographical Notes. Lund, Sweden: Stanford Archeology Center, 1971.
- Begg, Patrick. *Late Cypriot Terracotta Figurines: A Study in Context.* Göteborg, Sweden: Paul Astroms Forlag, 1991.
- Best, Jan, and Fred Woudhuizen. *Ancient Scripts from Crete and Cyprus*. Leiden, The Netherlands: E. J. Brill, 1988.
- Buchholz, Hans-Gunter, and Vassos Karageorghis. *Prehistoric Greece and Cyprus: An Archaeological Handbook*. London: Phaidon, 1973.
- *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellenique*. Athens: Ecole Francasie d'Athenes, 1877.
- CAARI News. Nicosia: Cyprus American Archaeological Research Institute, 1986.
- Casson, Stanley. Ancient Cyprus: Its Art and Archaeology. London: Methuen, 1973.
- Catling, Hector William. *Cypriot Bronze Work in the Mycenaean World*. Oxford, England: Clarendon Press, 1964.

- ——. Cyprus in the Neolithic and Chalcolithic Periods. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970.
- Cesnola, Alessandro Palma di. Salaminia (Cyprus): The History, Treasures and Antiquities of Salamis in the Island of Cyprus. London: Whiting, 1884.
- Cesnola, Luigi Palma di. Cyprus: Its Ancient Cities, Tombs and Temples. London: J. Murray, 1877.
- Department of Antiquities. Acts of the International Archeological Symposium: The Relations between Cyprus and Crete, ca. 2000–500 B.C. Nicosia: Department of Antiquities, 1979.
- ------. Annual Report of the Department of Antiquities. Nicosia: Department of Antiquities, 1941–1916, 1926, 1933, 1949, 1950.
- ——. Archaeologia Cypria. Nicosia: Association of Cypriot Archaeologists, 1985.
- Dikaios, Porphyrios. *Enkomi: Excavation 1948–1958*. Mainz, Germany: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 1969.
- ——. Khirokitia: Final Report on the Excavation of a Neolithic Settlement in Cyprus on Behalf of the Department of Antiquities 1936–1946. London: Oxford University Press, 1953.
- Dikaios, Porphyrios, and John Angel Lawrence. *Sotira*. Philadelphia: University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, 1961.
- Gjerstad, Einar. Cypriot Pottery: From the Neolithic to the Hellenistic Period. Paris: Union Acadèmique Internationale, 1932.
- Gjerstad, Einar, et al. *Ages and Days in Cyprus*. Göteborg, Sweden: Paul Astroms Forlag, 1980.
- ------. The Swedish Cyprus Expedition: Finds and Results of the Excavation in Cyprus 1927–1931. 4 Vols. Stockholm: Swedish Cyprus Expedition, 1934–1956.

——. "The Swedish Cyprus Expedition: Vol. IV Part 2. The Cypro-Geometric, Cypro-Archaic and Cypro-Classical Periods." *American Journal of Archeology* 55, no 4 (October 1951): 424–28.

- Goring, Elisabeth. A Mischievous Pastime: Digging in Cyprus in the 19th Century. Edinburgh: National Museums of Scotland and the Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation, 1988.
- Hayes John W. *Paphos 111: The Hellenistic and Roman Pottery*. Nicosia: published for the Republic of Cyprus by the Department of Antiquities, 1991.
- Held, Steve O. *Pleistocene Fauna and Holocene Humans: A Gazetteer of Paleontological and Early Archaeological Sites of Cyprus*. Göteborg, Sweden: Paul Astroms Forlag, 1992.
- Jeffrey, George. A Description of the Historic Monuments of Cyprus. London: Zeno, 1983.
- Karageorghis, Vassos. Acts of the International Archaeological Symposium Cyprus between the Orient and the Occident. Nicosia: Department of Antiquities, 1986.
- ——. Archaeology in Cyprus 1960–1985. Nicosia: A. G. Leventis Foundation, 1985.
- ------. The End of the Late Bronze Age in Cyprus. Nicosia: Pierides Foundation, 1990.
  - . *Kition: Mycenaean and Phoenician Discoveries in Cyprus*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1976.
- ------. *Treasure in the Cyprus Museum*. Nicosia: Department of Antiquities, 1962.
- Karageorghis, Vassos, and Cornelius C. Vermeule. Sculpture from Salamis. Nicosia: Department of Antiquities, 1966.
- Katzev, Michael L. "The Reconstruction of the Kyrenia Ship 1972–1975." National Geographic Society Research Report 12 (1981): 315–28.
- Katzev, Michael L., and S. Katzev. "Kyrenia 11: Research on an Ancient Shipwreck Comes Full Circle in a Full-Scale Replication." Institution of Nautical Archaeology Newsletter 13, no. 3 (1986): 2–11.
- Maier, Franz G. *Paphos: History and Archaeology*. Nicosia: A.G. Leventis Foundation, 1984.
- Masson, Olivier. *The Cypriot Syllabic Inscription: A Critical Annotated Collection*. Paris: Editions de Boccard, 1961.
- Merrillees, Robert S. *Introduction to the Bronze Age Archeology of Cyprus*. Göteborg, Sweden: Paul Astroms Forlag, 1978.

. Nicosia before Nicosia. Nicosia: A.G. Leventis Foundation, 1992.

- Meyers Eric M., ed. "From Ruins to Riches: CAARI on Cyprus." *Biblical Archeologist* 52, no. 4 (December 1989): 157–62.
- Mitford, Terence Bruce. *The Inscription of Kourion*. Philadelphia, PA: American Philosophical Society, 1971.
- Myres, John, and Max Ohnefalsch-Richter. A Catalogue of the Cyprus Museum. Oxford, England: Clarendon Press, 1899.
- Nicolaou, Kyriakos. *The Historical Topography of Kition*. Göteborg, Sweden: Paul Astroms Forlag, 1976.
- Nicolaou, Ino. *Cypriot Inscribed Stones*. Nicosia: Department of Antiquities, 1971.
- Nicolaou, Ino, and Terence Bruce Mitford. *The Greek and Latin Inscriptions from Salamis*. Nicosia: Department of Antiquities, 1974.
- Nicolaou, Ino, and Otto Morkholm. *Paphos: The Coins from the House of Dionysos*. Nicosia: Department of Antiquities, 1990.
- Ohnefalsch-Richter, Max. *Ancient Places of Worship in Kypros*. Berlin: H. S. Hermann, 1891.
- ——. Kypros, the Bible and Homer: Oriental Civilization, Art and Religion in Ancient Times. London: Asher, 1893.
- Peltenburg, Edgar. *Early Society in Cyprus*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press in Association with the National Museums of Scotland and A. G. Leventis Foundation, 1989.
- Sarmast, Robert. *Discovery of Atlantis: The Startling Case for the Island of Cyprus*. San Rafael, CA: Origin Press, 2003.
- Tatton-Brown, Veronica. *Cyprus and the East Mediterranean in the Iron Age*. London: British Museum Publications, 1989.
- UNESCO World Art Series. *Cyprus: Byzantine Mosaics and Frescoes*. New York: New York Graphic Society, 1963.
- Vandenabeele, Frieda. *Cypriot Terracottas*. Brussels: A.G. Leventis Foundation, Vrije Universiteit Brussel-Universite' de Lie`ge. 1991.
- Walker, Anita, and E. Lawrence Stager. American Expedition to Idalion Cyprus: First Preliminary Report, Seasons of 1971 and 1972. Boston: American School of Oriental Research, 1974.
- Westerberg, Karin. Cypriot Ships from the Bronze Age to ca. 500 B.C. Göteborg, Sweden: Paul Astroms Forlag, 1983.
- Wright, George. Ancient Building in Cyprus. Leiden, The Netherlands: E. J. Brill, 1992.

- 218 BIBLIOGRAPHY
- Yon, Marguerite Kiniras. L'archéologie Francaise à Chypre [French Archeology in Cyprus]. Lyons: Maison de l'Orient, 1993.

#### Architecture

Aristidou, A. Pahos Castle. Nicosia: 1994.

- Jeffery, George. A Description of the Historic Monuments of Cyprus: Studies in the Archaeology and Architecture of Island with Illustrations from Measured Drawings and Photographs. Nicosia: Government Printing Office, 1918.
- Megaw, Arthur. "The Arts in Cyprus: Military Architecture." In *A History* of the Crusades, Volume IV, edited by H. W. Hazard. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1977.
- Patitucci, Stella. Cyprus and the Eastern Mediterranean. Proceedings of International Seminar on Study of Cyprus and the Eastern Mediterranean, Ravenna 23–30 March 1985. Ravenna: Edizioni del Girasole, 1985.
- Wharton, Annabel Jane. Art of Empire. Painting and Architecture of the Byzantine Periphery. A Comparative Study of Four Provinces. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1988.

#### Art

- Barlow, Jane A., et al. *Cypriot Ceramics: Reading the Prehistoric Record.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1991.
- Bikai, Patricia M. *The Phoenician Pottery of Cyprus*. Nicosia: Leventis Foundation with the Assistance of the J. Paul Getty Trust, 1987.
- Boase, Thomas. "The Arts in Cyprus: Ecclesiastical Art." In *A History of the Crusades, Volume IV*, edited by H. W. Hazard. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1977.
- Coldstream, John Nicolas. *The Originality of Ancient Cypriot Art*. Nicosia: Cultural Foundation of the Bank of Cyprus, 1986.
- Constantinou, Costas M. "The Beautiful Nation: Reflections on the Aesthetics of Hellenism." *Alternatives* 31 (January 2006): 53–75.
- Cyprus—the Plundering of a 9,000 Year Old Civilisation. Athens: Ministry of Culture and Sciences, 1985. Academy of Athens and Committee for the preservation of the cultural heritage of Cyprus. Cyprus-the Plundering of a 9,000-year Old Civilization. Catalogue of the exhibition of 24 May–20 October 1985, Athens, Cultural Centre. Athens: Municipality of Athens and Pierides Foundation, 1985.

- Daszewski, Wiktor Andrzej. *Mosaic Floors in Cyprus*. Ravenna, Italy: Mario Lapucci Edizioni del Girasole, 1988.
- Goring, Elizabeth. A Mischievous Pastime. Edinburgh: National Museum of Scotland, 1988.
- Knapp, Arthur Bernard. Copper Production and Divine Protection: Archaeology, Ideology and Social Complexity on Bronze Age Cyprus. Göteborg, Sweden: Paul Astroms Forlag, 1986.
- Lubsen-Admiraal, Stella M., and Joost Crouwel. *Cyprus and Aphrodite*. Amsterdam: The Hague, 1989.
- Morris, Desmond. *The Art of Ancient Cyprus*. Oxford, England: Phaidon and Cape, 1985.
- Papageorghiou, Athanasios. Masterpieces of the Byzantine Art of Cyprus. Nicosia: Department of Antiquities, 1965.
- Sinos, Stefan, et al. *The Temple of Apollo Hylates at Kourion and the Restoration of Its South-West Corner*. Athens: The A. G. Leventis Foundation, 1990.
- UNESCO, The Protection of Movable Cultural Property. Compendium of Legislative Texts. Cyprus. Paris: UNESCO, 1985.

#### Music

- Michaelides, Solon. Η Κυπριακή Λαική Μουσικύ [Cypriot Folk Music]. Nicosia: 1944.
- Panayitou, Nikos. Κυπριακύ Μουσικύ Βιβλογραφία και Δισκογραφία [Cypriot Music Bibliography and Discography]. Nicosia: Publishings of the Education Service, 1985.
  - —. Η Μουσικν' στην Κύπρο του Καιρό τηζ Αγγλοκρατι'αζ: Στ'αχυνάρια Πρωτοπόρων [The Music in Cyprus at the Time of British Rule: At the Footsteps of Pioneers]. Nicosia: Education Service of the Ministry of Education, 1985.
- Tomboles, Sozos, and Lenia Sergi. Κυπριακή Παραδοσιακν' Μουσικύ: Συλλογύ-Καταγραφύ-Ανάλυσν [Cyprus Traditional Music: Collection-Registry-Analysis]. Nicosia: Cultural Fund of the Bank of Cyprus, 2002.

#### Theater

Ignatiou-Pieridou, Maria. Αναμνήσειζ απο το Κνπριακό Θέατρο [Memories and Images from the Cypriot Theater]. Nicosia: 1993.

- Marangkou, Niki. Θεατρικόζ Κύπρου: τα Πρώτα Δέκα Χρόνια 1971– 1981 [Cyprus Theater Organization: The First Ten Years, 1971–1981]. Nicosia: 1982.
- Mousteris, Michaelis. Χρονολογική Ιστορία του Κνπριακού Θεατρου [Chronological History of the Cypriot Theater]. Limassol, Cyprus: 1993.
- Perentos, Louis. Θεατρικέζ στη Λάρνακα: 1879–1913 [Theater Plays in Larnaca: 1879-1913]. Larnaca, Cyprus: Larnaca Municipality, 1992.

## Economy

Agriculture

- Agriculture Research Institute. *Bibliography of Cypriot Agriculture 1975–1983*. Nicosia: Ministry of Agriculture and Natural Resources, 1983.
- Christodoulou, Demetrios. *The Evolution of the Rural Land Use Pattern in Cyprus*. London: Geographical Publications, 1959.
- Karouzis, Giorgos. *Bibliography on Land Tenure in Cyprus*. Nicosia: Land Consolidation Authority, 1974.

——. Report on Aspects of Land Tenure in Cyprus. Nicosia: Land Consolidation Authority, 1980.

- Konteatis, C. A. Dams of Cyprus. Nicosia: Water Development Department, 1974.
- Ministry of Agriculture and Natural Resources. *Cyprus Agriculture*. Nicosia: Printing Office of the Republic of Cyprus, 1983.
- Orphanos, P. Publications of the Agricultural Research Institute over the Period 1962–1982. Nicosia: Ministry of Agriculture and Natural Resources, 1983.
- Pearce, Richard. Part-time Farming in Cyprus. Reading, England: Department of Agriculture Economics and Management, University of Reading, 1981.
- Percival, David A. *Census of Population and Agriculture 1946.* London: Crown Agents for the Colonies, 1949.
- Philippides, P., and Chr. Papayiannis. *Agricultural Regions of Cyprus*. Nicosia: Department of Statistics and Research, Agriculture Research Institute, 1983.
- Richard, Arthur Patrick. "Political Geography and the Cyprus Conflict: 1963–1971." *Geographical Review* 67, no. 3 (July 1977): 373–74.

- Surridge, B. A Survey of Rural Life in Cyprus. Nicosia: Government Printing Office, 1930.
- Vine Products Commission. *Vines and Wines of Cyprus*. Limassol, Cyprus: Vine Products Commission, 1993.
- Zomenis, Sozos L. Workshop on Conservation and Development of Natural Resources in Cyprus. Nicosia: Ministry of Agriculture and Natural Resources and Geological Survey Department, 1988.

## Industry

- Andronikou, Antonios. Development of Tourism in Cyprus. Nicosia: Cosmos Press, 1987.
- Demetriades, E. *The Process of Industrialization in Cyprus*. Nicosia: Social Research Center, 1984.
- Kaminarides, John S. *The Cyprus Economy: A Case in Industrialization Progress.* Nicosia: Socrates Publishing, 1973.
- Panagides, Solomon. Manufacturing Development in a Small Country Economy: The Case of Cyprus. Social Economic Studies, vol. 16. Kingston, Jamaica: Social Economic Studies, vol. 16, 1967.
- Richard, J. Colonial Economy? Cyprus and Its Agricultural Resources in the Middle Ages. Las Palmas, Spain: Byzantinische Forschungen, 1977.

#### Finance

- Cyprus Chamber of Commerce and Industry. *Cyprus Exporters*. Nicosia, 1993.
- Phylaktis, Kate. *The Banking System of Cyprus: Past, Present and Future*. London: Macmillan Press, 1995.

## Labor

- House, William J. Cypriot Women in the Labour Market. An Exploration of Myths and Reality. Geneva: International Labor Office, 1986.
- Katsikides, Savvas Andreas. Arbeiterbewegung und Arbeitsbeziehungen auf Zypern 1910–1982 [The Labour Movement and Labour Relations in Cyprus 1910–1982]. Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1988.
- Stampolis, Anthony. *The Social Economic Development of Cyprus*. Nicosia: US Educational Foundation in Cyprus, Ministry of Labor and Social Insurance, 1963.

## Education

- Anastassiades, Andreas G. The Development of the Administration of Elementary Education in Cyprus. Nicosia: 1979.
- Education Advisory Committee. *Cyprus School History Textbooks*. London: Parliamentary Group for World Government, 1966.
- Karagiorges, Andreas G. Education Development in Cyprus 1960–1977. Nicosia: Ministry of Education and Culture, Curriculum Development Unit, 1986.
- Koyzis Anthony A. "Politics of Education: A Historical Overview of First-Grade Readers in Cyprus." In *World Council for Curriculum and Instruction Forum*, vol. 5. San Diego, CA, 1991.
- Persianis, Panagiotes. *Church and State in Cyprus Education*. Nicosia: Violaris Printing Works, 1978.

—. The Political and Economic Factors as the Main Determinants of Educational Policy in Independent Cyprus (1960–1970). Nicosia: Pedagogical Institute, 1982.

- Protopapa, Pitsa. *Ta Katechomena Gymnasia Mas [Our Occupied High Schools]*. Nicosia: Palouriotissa Gymnasium, 1984.
- Weier, William W. Education in Cyprus: Some Theories and Practices in Education in the Island of Cyprus since 1878. Nicosia: Cosmos Press, 1952.

## **Ethnic Minorities**

- Aziz, Ibrahim. *The Historical Course of the Turkish Cypriot Community*. Nicosia: Published by the author, 1981.
- Baybars, Taner. Plucked in a Far-Off Land. London: Victor Gollancz Ltd., 1970.
- Beckingham, Charles Fraser. "Islam and Turkish Nationalism in Cyprus." Die Welt des Islams N.S. 5, nos. 1–2 (1957): 65–83.
- ——. "The Turks of Cyprus." *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 87, no. 2 (July–December 1957): 165–74.
- Brown, E. "The Maronites of Cyprus." *Eastern Churches Quarterly (USA)* no. 2 (January 1937).
- Cirilli, M. *Les Maronites de Chypre*. Lille, France: Imprimerie de l'orphelinat de don Bosco, 1898.

- Committee on Turkish Affairs. An Investigation into Matters Concerning and Affecting the Turkish Community in Cyprus: Interim Report. Nicosia: Government Printing Office, 1949.
- Coyle, Dominick J. *Minorities in Revolt. Political Violence in Ireland, Italy and Cyprus.* Toronto: Associated University Press, 1983.
- Dawkins, Richard McGillivray. "The Crypto-Christians of Turkey." *Byzantion* 8 (1933): 247–75.
- Hatay, Mete. Is the Turkish Cypriot Population Shrinking? Nicosia: PRIO, 2007.
- Kitromilides, Paschalis, and Theodore M. Couloumbis. *Ethnic Conflict in a Strategic Area: The Case of Cyprus*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Books, 1976.
- Kolodny, E. An Insular Community in the Eastern Mediterranean: The Turks of Cyprus. Revue de Geogrphie de Lyon, vol. 45, Lyon, France: 1971.
- Maxoudian, Noubar. "A Brief History of the Armenians of Cyprus." Armenian Review 27, no. 4 (1975): 398–416.
- Panagides, Stahis Solomon. "Communal Conflict and Economic Considerations: The Case of Cyprus." *Journal of Peace Research* 5 (1968): 133–45.
- Pollis, Adamantia. "Intergroup Conflict and British Colonial Policy: The Case of Cyprus." *Comparative Politics* 5, no. 4 (July 1973): 575–99.
- Sergy, P. "The Small Minorities in Cyprus (Maronites, Armenians and 'Latins')." *Revue Francaise d'Etudes Politiques Mediterranéennes*, nos. 18–19 (June–July 1976).
- Volkan, Vamik D. Cyprus—War and Adaptation: A Psychoanalytic History of Two Ethnic Groups in Conflict. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1979.

## Politics

- Anderson, Perry. "The Divisions of Cyprus." London Review of Books 30, no. 8 (2008).
- Attalides, Michael. *Cyprus: Nationalism and International Politics*. Mannheim, Germany: BIBLIOPOLIS, 2003.
- Cassia, Paul Sant. "The Archbishop in the Beleaguered City: An Analysis of the Conflicting Roles and Political Oratory of Makarios." *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 8 (1983): 191–212.

- Christophorou, C. I Machi tis Lefkosias [The Battle for Nicosia]. Nicosia: Published by the author, 1992.
- Constantinou, Costas. "Cyprus, Europe, Mythography." *The Cyprus Review* 15, no. 2 (2003): 103–20.
- Constantinou, Costas, and O. Richmond. "The Long Mile of Empire: Power, Legitimation and the UK Bases in Cyprus." *Mediterranean Politics* 10, no. 1 (2005): 65–84.
- Constantinou, Costas, and Yiannis Papadakis. "The Cypriot State(s) in Situ: Cross-Ethnic Contact and the Discourse of Recognition." *Global Society* 15, no. 2 (2001): 125–48.
- Crawshaw, Nancy. The Cyprus Revolt: An Account of the Struggle for Union with Greece. London: Allen & Unwin, 1978.
- Diez, Thomas. *The European Union and the Cyprus Conflict: Modern Conflict, Postmodern Union.* Manchester, England: Manchester University Press, 2002.
- Dimitras, Panayote Elias. "The Cypriot Parliamentary Elections of 1985." *Electoral Studies, Elsevier Logo* 5, no. 3 (August 1986).

Dodd, Clement Henry. *Cyprus: The Need for New Perspectives*. Cambridgeshire, England: Eothen Press, 1999.

- Doob, Leonard W. "Cypriot Patriotism and Nationalism." The Journal of Conflict Resolution 30, no. 2 (June 1986): 383–96.
- Fouskas, Vassilis. *Reflections on the Cyprus Issue and the Turkish Invasions of 1974*. Kingston, England: Kingston University, European Research Center, 2001.

. Zones of Conflict. London: Photo Press, 2003.

- Hitchens, Christopher. Hostage to History: From the Ottomans to Kissinger. New York: Noonday Press, 1984.
- Holland, Robert, and Diana Markides. *The British and the Hellenes*. Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 2006.
- Home, Gordon. Cyprus: Then and Now. London: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1960.
- Kitromilides, Paschalis M. "Greek Irredentism in Asia Minor and in Cyprus." *Middle Eastern Studies* 5, no. 26 (1990): 3–17.

<sup>——. &</sup>quot;The Cypriot Presidential Elections of 1988." *Electoral Studies, Elsevier Logo* 7, no. 3 (December 1988).

<sup>------.</sup> The Cyprus Imbroglio. Cambridgeshire, England: Eothen Press, 1998.

——. "An Unexplored Case of Political Change: A Research Note on the Electoral History of Cyprus." *Greek Review of Social Research (Athens)* no. 38 (1980).

- Loizos, Peter. The Greek Gift: Politics in a Cypriot Village. Oxford, England: Blackwell, 1975.
- Markides, Diana Weston. *Cyprus 1957–1963: From Colonial Conflict to Constitutional Crisis: The Key Role of the Municipal Issue*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 2001.
- Matthews, David. *The Cyprus Tapes*. London: K. Rustem & Brother, 1987.
- Nicolet, Claude. United States Policy towards Cyprus, 1954–1974: Removing the Greek–Turkish Bone of Contention. Mannheim, Germany: BIBLIOPOLIS, 2001.
- Palley, Claire. An International Relations Debacle: The UN Secretary-General's Mission of Good Offices in Cyprus 1999–2004. Oxford, England: Hart Publishing, 2005.
- Patrick, Arthur Richard. *Political Geography and the Cyprus Conflict, 1963–1971.* ON: University of Waterloo, Publication Series, 1989.
- Pollis, Adamantia. "Cyprus: Nationalism vs. Human Rights." Universal Human Rights 1 (1979): 89–102.
- Richmond, Oliver P., and James Ker-Lindsay, eds. *The Work of the UN in Cyprus: Promoting Peace and Development*. New York: Palgrave, 2001.
- Scherer, John L. Blocking the Sun: The Cyprus Conflict. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1997.
- Sitas, Ari, Dilek Latif, and Natasa Loizou. *Prospects of Reconciliation, Co-Existence and Forgiveness in Cyprus in the Post-Referendum Period.* Nicosia: PRIO, 2007.
- Theophanous, Andreas, and Yiannis Tirkides, eds. *Reflections on the Relations between Britain and the Republic of Cyprus and the Case of the British Sovereign Base Areas.* Nicosia: Intercollege Press, 2007.
- Vanezis, Peter. *Cyprus: Crime without Punishment*. Hong Kong: Real Printing, 1997.
- Volkan, Vamik, and Norman Itzkowitz. *Turks and Greeks: Neigbours in Conflict*. Huntington, England: Eothen Press, 1995.
- Walker, Anita M. "Enosis in Cyprus: Dhali, a Case Study." *The Middle East Journal* 38, no. 3 (1984): 474–94.

#### Government

- Adams, Thomas W. AKEL: The Communist Party of Cyprus. Stanford, CA: Hoover Institution Press, 1971.
- Attalides, Michael. *Cyprus: Nationalism and International Politics*. Mannheim, Germany: BIBLIOPOLIS, 2003.
- Cassia, Paul Sant. "Patterns of Covert Politics in Post-Independence Cyprus." Archives Européenes de Sociologie 24 (1983): 115–35.
- Charalambous, John, et al, eds. *Cyprus: 40 Years on from Independence*. Mannheim, Germany: BIBLIOPOLIS, 2002.
- Ehrlich, Thomas. "Cyprus, the 'Warlike Isle': Origins and Elements of the Current Crisis." *Stanford Law Review* 19, no. 5 (1966): 44.
- Ker-Lindsay, James, and Hubert Faustmann, eds. *The Government and politics of Cyprus*. Oxford: Peter Lang Publishing, 2008.
- Loizos, Peter. *Politics and Patronage in a Cypriot Village 1920–1970*. London: Duckworth, 1977.
- McHaler, V. *Political Community in Plural Societies*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1983.
- Papaioannou, Ioannis A. Politics in Cyprus between 1960 and 1981. Nicosia: Published by the author, 1984.

#### Law

- Adams, Thomas W. "The First Republic of Cyprus: A Review of an Unworkable Constitution." Western Political Quarterly 19, no. 3 (September 1966): 475–90.
- Aimilianides, Achilles K. *The "Hellenic Laws" of Cyprus and the "Hexabiblos" of Armenopoulos*. Thessaloniki: Faculty of the University of Thessaloniki, 1952.
- Christodoulou, C. A Study of a Labor Law in Cyprus. Nicosia: Published by the author, 1992.
- Kallis, G. Sentencing in Cyprus. Nicosia: Proodos Press, 1978.
- Emilianides, A. *The Hellenic Laws of Cyprus and the "Hexabiblos" of Armenopolos.* Thesaloniki: Faculty of the University of Thesaloniki, 1952.
- Loizou, Andreas Nicolas, and G. Pikis. Criminal Procedures in Cyprus. Nicosia: Proodos Press, 1975.
- Nedjatigil, Zaim M. Cyprus Administrative Law. London: Sweet & Maxwell Ltd., 1970.

- Potier, Tim. A Functional Cyprus Settlement: The Constitutional Dimension. Ruhpolding, Germany: Verlag Franz Philipp Rutzen, 2007.
- Serghides, George A. Internal and External Conflict of Laws in Regard to Family Relations in Cyprus. Nicosia: Government Printing Office, 1960.

Smith, S. Cyprus: Sui Generis. London: Stevens & Sons, 1964.

Tornaritis, Criton George. Cyprus and Its Constitutional and Other Legal Problems. Nicosia: 1980.

— . The Statute Laws of Cyprus in Force on the 1st day of April, 1959. London: C. F. Roworth, 1959.

## Religion

Coureas, Nicholas. *The Foundation Rules of Medieval Cypriot Monasteries: Makheras and St. Neophytos.* Nicosia: Cyprus Research Center, 2003.

——. *The Latin Church in Cyprus, 1195–1312.* Hampshire, England: Ashgate Publishing, 1997.

- Coureas, Nicholas, and Christopher Schabel. *The Cartulary of the Ca-thedral of Holy Wisdom of Nicosia*. Nicosia: Cyprus Research Centre, 1997.
- Englezakis, Benedict. New and Old in God's Revelation, Studies in Relations Between Spirit and Tradition in the Bible. Cambridge: James Clarke, 1982.

- Hackett, John. A History of the Orthodox Church of Cyprus. New York: B. Franklin, 1972.
- Ioannides, Kletos. Patericon of the 20th Century. Athens: Nektarios Managopoulos Publications, 1999.
- Markides, Kyriakos. *Fire in the Heart: Healers, Sages and Mystics*. New York: Penguin Arkana, 1990.

------. The Magus of Strovolos: The Extraordinary World of a Spiritual Healer. New York: Penguin Arkana, 1985.

------. The Mountain of Silence: A Search for Orthodox Spirituality. New York: Doubleday, 2001.

- -----. H I $\Sigma$ TOPIA T $\Omega$ N MAP $\Omega$ NIT $\Omega$ N T $H\Sigma$  KY $\Pi$ POY. Nicosia: 2000.
- Persianis, Panagiotes. *Church and State in Cyprus Education*. Nicosia: Violaris Printing Works, 1978.

### Language

- Anaxagorou, Nadia. "A Comparison of Cypriot Greek Phonology with that of Standard Demotic Greek." *Modern Greek Studies Yearbook* 3 (1987): 129–48.
- Beaudouin, Mondry. *Etude du Dialecte Chypriote Moderne et Medievale* [The Study of Modern and Medieval Cypriot Dialect]. Paris: E. Thorin, 1884.
- Hadjioannou, Kyriakos P. *Ta En Diaspora [Dispersed Writings]*. Nicosia: 1969.
- Karageorghis, Jacqueline. *The History of the Greek Language in Cyprus*. Nicosia: Pierides Foundation, 1988.

## Literature

- Ali, Aydin Mehmet. *Turkish Cypriot Identity in Literature*. London: Fatal Publications, 1990.
- Charalambous, John, and George Georghallides. *Focus on Cyprus*. London: University of North London Press, 1993.
- Constantinou, C. "Memoirs of the Lost: The Dead and the Missing in the Politics of Poetry." *The Cyprus Review* 7, no. 2 (1995): 59–73.
- Decavalles, Andonis, et al. *The Voice of Cyprus: An Anthology of Cypriot Literature*. New York: October House, 1966.
- Gaist, J. "George Philippou Pierides: A Selection." *Journal of the Hellenic Diaspora* 5, no. 2 (1978).
- Katselli, Rena. "Kyrenia Flower Show." In *Refugee in My Homeland: Cyprus 1974*, edited by David Bailey, 66. Nicosia: 1979.
- Kechagioglou, George. "Contemporary Cypriot Literature and the Frame of Modern Greek Literature: A Provincial, Local, Marginal, Peripheral,

Independent, Autonomous, Self-Sufficient or Self-Determined Literature." *Journal of Mediterranean Studies* 2 (1992).

- ——. "National and Poetic Ethics: The Case of Cypriot Literature, 1955– 1988." Journal of Modern Hellenism no. 7 (1990).
- Kitromilides, Paschalis M. Collective Consciousness and Poetry: Three Moments in the Literary Tradition of Modern Cyprus. Neo-Hellenika, Vol. 4. Vienna: 1981. 159–170.
- Kouyialis, Theoklis. *Contemporary Cypriot Poetry: An Anthology*. Nicosia: Cyprus PEN, 1981.
- Loizou, Doros. Bread and Freedom. Nicosia: Zavallis Press, 1976.
- Mahr, August Carl. *The Cyprus Passion Cycle*. Bloomington: University of Indiana, Publications in Mediaeval Studies, 1947.
- Montis, Costas, and Andreas Christophides. *Anthology of Cypriot Poetry*. Nicosia: Proodos Press, 1974.

Orphanides, Nikos. Costas Montis. Nicosia: Cyprus PEN, 1993.

Pitsillides, T. *Costas Montis*. Athens: Collection de l'Institut Francais d' Athenès, 1952.

——. Petrarchan Poetry in Cyprus: Love Poems in the Cypriot Dialect According to a 16th Century Manuscript. Athens: Collection de l'Institut Francais d' Athenès, 1952.

- Prousis, C. Poems of Cyprus: A Selection from the Work of Vassilis Michaelides and Dimitris Lipertis. Nicosia: Printing of the Republic of Cyprus, 1970.
- ——. Themata kai Prosopa tis Kypriakis Logotechnias [Themes and Persons in Cypriot Literature]. Nicosia: Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation, 1990.
- Spanos, Nicos S. Five Short Essays on Cypriot Prose-Writers. Nicosia: Cyprus PEN, 1981.
- Zafeiriou, Leukios. I neoteri Kypriaki Logotechnia. Grammatologiko Schediasma [Modern Cypriot Literature: A Sketch in Literary History]. Nicosia: Published by the author, 1991.

#### REFERENCES

## **Bibliographies and Genealogies**

- Jeffery, George. An Attempt at a Bibliography of Cyprus. Nicosia: Nicosia Government Printing Office, 1929.
- Kitromilides, Paschalis M., and Marios L. Evriviades. *Cyprus*. World Bibliographical Series, Volume 28. Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-Clio, 1982.

Richter, Heinz A. *Greece and Cyprus since 1920*. Bibliography of Contemporary History. Heidelberg, Germany: New Hellas, 1984.

## **Official Information**

Cyprus Tourism Organization: www.visitcyprus.org.cy Government Web Portal: www.cyprus.gov.cy Press and Information Office (Republic of Cyprus): www.moi.gov.cy

## Parties and Elections

AKEL: www.akel.org.cy Cyprus Mail: www.cyprus-mail.com/news Cyprus Weekly: www.cyprusweekly.com.cy DIKO: www.diko.org.cy DISY: www.disy.org.cy Ecological and Environmental Movement: www.cyprusgreens.org EVRO.KO: www.evropaikokomma.org

## **Cities and Places**

Larnaca: www.larnaca.com Limassol: www.limassolmunicipal.com.cy Nicosia: www.nicosia.org.cy

# About the Author

Farid Mirbagheri was born and raised in Iran and left for the United Kingdom in 1978 to complete his secondary education. He attended Fettes College in Edinburgh and later received his BA and PhD in international relations from Keele University, England. His PhD thesis concentrated on the problem of Cyprus, upon the completion of which he produced, in 1998, his first book on International Peacemaking in Cyprus. He assumed the editorship of The Cyprus Review, the leading internationally refereed academic journal on Cypriot affairs, at the University of Nicosia from 1999 to 2006, and currently serves as a member of the editorial board of the journal. He currently holds the Dialogue Chair in Middle Eastern Studies (sponsored by the A.G. Leventis Foundation) in the Department of International Relations at the University of Nicosia and is the Director of Research at the Centre for World Dialogue in the same city. He also serves as an associate editor of Global Dialogue, the biannual journal of the Center. His areas of interest include, inter alia, the Middle East, war and peace in Islam, and Sufism and political philosophy. He is a reviewer for Review of International Studies, Roundtable, The Cyprus Review, and other publications. He is currently finishing a book on "war and peace in Islam" for Palgrave.